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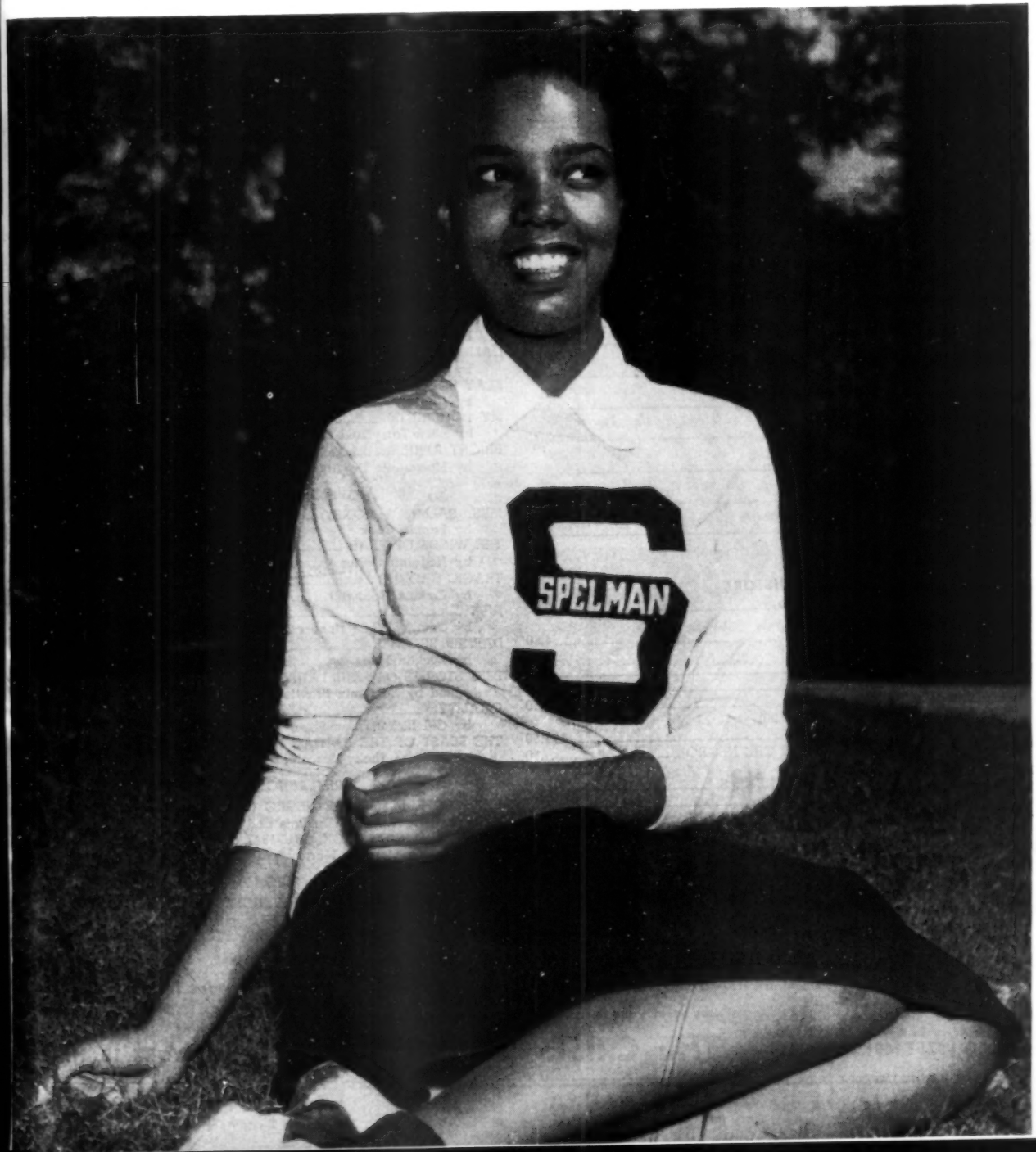

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Vol. 54, No. 4 Whole Number 436

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THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910 *and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It is published monthly at* 20 *West* 40*th Street, New York* 18, *N. Y., by the Crisis Publishing Co., Inc., Dr. Louis T. Wright, president; Walter White, secretary; and Mrs. Lillian A. Alexander, treasurer. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15 *cents a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscription may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and three weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care, it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879.

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

THE COVER—Miss Annie Owens of Cleveland, Ohio, a home economics major at Spelman college, Atlanta, Ga., is one of the 30,000 young people who populate the 33 institutions affiliated with the United Negro College Fund, now in its fourth annual appeal.

•

CLARENCE M. MITCHELL, JR. ("Our Stake in the Labor Fight," page 106), labor secretary, NAACP, has had varied experience in his chosen field. He served for six months as state director of Negro work for the NYA; worked as a field assistant in the Office o' Production Management; and in 1943 was an associate director of field operations for FEPC, of which he beca ne director in 1945.

•

EMILE FAURE ("French Terror in Negro Afi'ca," page 108) is the grandson of Samory Toureh (1830-1900), former Sultan of Nigeria. Samory fought off the conquering French for eighteen years; captured in 1898, he was exiled to the little island of Njolo in the Congo, where he died.

His grandson, M. Faure, is the moving spirit in a number of Negro defense organizations in Paris, chief of which is *la Ligue de Défense de la Race Negre* (League for Defense of the Negro Race). As a result of his anti-imperialist activities, M. Faure was arrested at the beginning of World War II by the agents of French imperialism and deported to Gabon, where he was imprisoned. He now lives in Paris where he is following his profession of mechanical engineering and working for a re-grouping of the many Negro organizations there.

•

EVA BEARD ("A Friend in High Places: Thomas Jefferson," page 111) is the sister of the well-known writer, James Rorty. She lives in Woodstock, N. Y.

•

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE ("Has Sartre Slandered the South?" page 113), now in his early forties, is the chief prophet of Existentialism, a philosophy which is supposed to stem from the teachings of the mystical Danish pastor Soren Kierkegaard (1813-1855). Sartre has expounded his philosophy in *L'Etre et le Néant* (Being and Nothing), *L'Existentialisme est un Humanisme* (Existentialism is a Humanism) and in many novels and plays, one of which, *Huis Clos* (No Exit), ran for a while in New York. The picture of Sartre was furnished through courtesy of the French Press and Information Service.

•

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD ("A Testimonial for Service," page 115) is the former editor-owner of *The Nation* and one of the founders of the NAACP. Of the original group which founded the Association in 1910, Mr. Villard was the fifth to join. He was also for a time on the editorial board of *The Crisis*.

•

THE PICTURES of the Turkish engineer on page 115 were furnished through the courtesy of Dallas Brown, Jr., of New York City.

•

MARILYN KAEMMERLE (who reviews *Color and Conscience* on page 122) is assistant to the executive secretary of Freedom House, Wendell Willkie Memorial Building, New York City.

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College and School News

Acme

Dr. Alain Locke (left) chats with Dr. Bryn J. Hovde, president of the New School of Social Research.

Dr. Alain Locke, distinguished American philosopher, has joined the staff of the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH as visiting professor. Dr. Locke is giving three full semester courses in the philosophy department of the Graduate School, all earning credits for higher degrees. These include, "Theory of Value," a seminar; "Philosophy of the Arts," a graduate course in aesthetics; and "Social Philosophy: Minority Group Problems."

Dr. Locke, who is head of the department of philosophy at Howard, has also taught in a number of other universities: as visiting professor to the University of Wisconsin in 1946; inter-American exchange professor, Haiti, 1943; visiting professor, Fisk, 1927; Austin Teaching Fellow, Harvard, 1916-17.

Joseph E. Butcher is a recent addition to the industrial arts department of CHEYNEY STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE. Mr. Butcher is a native of Petersburg, Va., and was educated at Virginia State, B. S., and New York university, M. A.

BENEDICT COLLEGE has been granted an "A" rating by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. In notifying the college of its rating, the Association congratulated President Bacoats and the faculty upon the development and improvements in the college. Benedict now has a faculty of 45, two of whom hold doctorates. All teachers hold masters' degrees or special training in their teaching area.

Twenty-five students at the college are on the honor roll for the first quarter.

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will be headed for the second successive year by Frank M. Totton, vice-president of the Chase National Bank, and will have $1,300,000 as the goal for 1947.

The American Board of Surgery has announced that Dr. Matthew Walker, chairman of the department of surgery at MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE, has successfully passed the examination of the board and has been awarded its diploma. Dr. Walker is a native of New Orleans, La., and received his premedical training at New Orleans university. He graduated from Meharry in 1934 and interned at the George W. Hubbard hospital.

Among recent speakers at BENNETT COLLEGE have been Mrs. H. E. Rattenbury, London, England; Bishop Fred Pierce Corson, Philadelphia, Pa.; Prentice Colgate, president of the student branch of the World Federalist; and Dr. Herbert Aptheker, representative of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Carl Weinrich, distinguished organist, gave a recital at the college recently.

Negro history week was celebrated at the college through a radio program relating the story of the Negro; an address by Hosea Butler, president of the A. & T. youth council; and an exhibit of pictures and books displayed in the Thomas F. Holgate library throughout the week.

Recent visitors and speakers at TALLADEGA COLLEGE have been T. Arnold Hill, formerly of the New York Urban League; Aubrey Williams, editor of the *Southern Farmer;* Dr. and Mrs. Vaughan Dabney of the Andover-Newton Theological School, Newton Center, Mass; and William J. Faulkner, dean of the chapel at Fisk university.

Miss Ida Hubbard, for 32 years a teacher and worker in the South, seventeen of which were spent at Talladega as house mother of Stone hall, died December 9 at the age of 96 in Meriden, N. H. Miss Hubbard had retired from active duty at the age of 75.

Mrs. Beulah Stewart Mabra, for 25 years a member of the music faculty at the college, died December 30 in Nashville, Tenn.

Presidents of American Missionary Association colleges met at Talladega January 31-February 1. In addition to Dr. Fred L. Brownlee, executive secretary of the AMA, the following were present: Presidents W. H. Jones, Tillotson; Hollis F. Price, LeMoyne; A. W. Dent, Dillard; and A. D. Beittel, Talladega.

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KNOXVILLE COLLEGE, gave a resume of the status of his college as part of the celebration of Negro history week.

In teacher-training, two assistant professors are away on General Education Board fellowships; in teacher-compensation, there was a ten percent increase in 1944, and another ten percent in 1946. In library standards, the college has $20,000 in sight, of which $10,000 has been guaranteed by the General Education Board, conditioned upon the raising of a matching amount by the college for the same purpose. The college is also placing emphasis upon its department of Bible and religious education.

At WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE the department of history and drama sponsored two programs in celebration of Negro history week. On February 9, Dr. John Lovell, Jr., professor of English at Howard, spoke on "The Achievements of Negroes in Literature;" on February 12, the drama department presented Paul Green's play, *No Count Boy*.

Fifty-fifth convocation of the college was held in January, with the principal address being delivered by Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune.

A workshop for the extension agents of the college, cooperative extension division, was held at the college during the week of Fbruary 17, under the direction of C. A. Svinth, cooperative agent, division of field studies and training of extension service, Washington, D. C. L. A. Toney is director of the extension service at the college.

Five students representing West Virginia State made a good-will tour of eleven southern colleges and universities January 23-30.

Dr. Henry J. McGuinn, chairman of the division of the social sciences at Virginia Union university, was principal speaker at the SHAW UNIVERSITY celebration of Negro history week. Professor E. E. Jones, of the university physics department, is on leave of absence during the second semester to study at New York university, where he expects to complete his residence requirements toward his Ph.D. Mrs. Martha Williams Wheeler has been appointed instructor in mathematics at the college.

The university Choral Society broadcast over station WPFT on February 28. The Rev. Moses N. DeLaney, director of the department of rural church, has been elected secretary of the Baptist Town and County Fellowship.

Fourteen students majoring in social sciences at Shaw have become members of Sigma Rho Sigma honorary society.

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Forty-six members of the graduating class of 1946 have been placed in teaching positions by the university bureau of appointments, according to a recent report of the director, Dr. Nelson H. Harris.

Eight new members, two of them faculty members, have been accepted into membership of the Alpha Alpha chapter of Beta Kappa Chi National Scientific Society at the NORTH CAROLINA A. & T. COLLEGE. John B. Murphy, head of the agronomy department, and William Spigener, of the biological department, are the two faculty members.

Negro history week at the college was celebrated with the appearance of Langston Hughes, poet; Dr. Herbert Aptheker, historian; and Ellabelle Davis, concert soprano.

Forty-seventh annual celebration of founders' day was celebrated at ALABAMA STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE on February 9, with Francis S. K. Whittaker, Houston, Texas, as principal speaker. Annual observance of Negro history week was observed at the college in a series of special programs directed by a faculty committee headed by Mrs. M. Evelyn W. Matthews, chairman of the history division.

Recent visitors to the college have been Mildred Greenwood Hall and Ruth R. Sanders, who gave a duo-piano recital; and Arthur P. Moore, former curator of education at the Brooklyn, N. Y., museum.

Forty-eighth annual founders' day address was delivered at VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY by Dr. Carter G. Woodson, historian. Over $7,000 in gifts was presented to the university at the annual mid-year alumni rally, according to Rev. J. Quinton Jackson, Germantown, Pa., president of the General Alumni Association.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY announces the sixth annual exhibition of paintings, sculpture and prints by Negro artists to be held, April 6-May 4, in the exhibition gallery of the university library. As in previous years, the university will offer $1,400 in cash purchase awards for the art works that win the approval of judges.

In the oil painting group, there will be cash awards of $300, $250, $150, and $100. The $250 award is the John Hope Prize donated by Edward B. Alford of New York for the best landscape, and the $300 award, also donated by Mr. Alford, is for the best portrait or figure painting submitted. The $100 award will be selected by popular ballot. Only original paintings, sculptures, and prints will be eligible for the exhibition.

Recent speakers at the university include Dr. Ruth Seabury, educational secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, who spoke on "Christian Strategy;" Dr. Kimball Young, sociologist of Queens college, who spoke on "Masculine-Feminine Psychology;" and Dr. Wm. Lloyd Imes, president of Knoxville college. Dr. Theodore M. Greene, professor of philosophy at Yale university, spent three days on the campus in February in faculty consultations.

Aubrey Pankey, baritone, was presented at MOREHOUSE COLLEGE on February 14 in the opening event of the 80th anniversary observance held February 14-18. Carl Weinrich, distinguished organist, was presented at SPELMAN COLLEGE in February.

A dinner honoring Dr. Charles S. Johnson, president-elect of FISK UNIVERSITY was given at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York, on February 14. Among the guest speakers for the occasion were Dr. George N. Shuster, president of Hunter college; Dr. O. C. Carmichael, former president of Vander-

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bilt university and now president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching; Dr. Horace Mann Bond, president of Lincoln university, Pa.; and Nicholas Kelley, trustee of Fisk.

Fourth annual Institute of Race Relations will be held at Fisk July 1-19.

The university music department sponsored the following series of faculty-and-guest-artists concerts: Lois Towles, university music department February 23; The Madrigalians, George Peabody College for Teachers, March 9; Arthur R. Croley, university organist, March 23; and Doris Jones and Amelia Myers, instructors in piano at Fisk, April 6.

Nearly $25,000, the goal set by the Negro community in Nashville, has been received and pledged in the current Fisk endowment campaign, according to Dr. Henry H. Walker, chairman of the drive. A seminar on UNESCO will be conducted as a part of the 18th annual festival of music and art at the university.

President Sherman D. Scruggs of LINCOLON UNIVERISITY (Mo.) has announced the following appointments and resignations at the university: appointments, Samuel R. Westfield, and William E. Williams, as assistant professors of economics; Miss Julia E. Mosley, instructor in history to fill the vacancy left by Dr. Lorenzo J. Green now on leave; Mrs. Jessie M. Carter, temporary head teacher in the nursery school; and Andrew J. Harrison and Bennie M. Britt, as university workers. Resignations were accepted from Edward W. Graham, instructor in the laboratory high school; Clyde Winkfield, instructor in the department of music; and Sherman Hayes, university farm worker.

Dr. William M. Boyd, head of the social science department at Fort Valley college, was the principal speaker in celebration of Negro history week. Daniel Eric Moore, university librarian recently discharged from the armed services, has been granted a leave of absence to pursue study at Columbia university and the University of Chicago.

The Lincoln Stagecrafters presented, with three different casts, a stage version of the movie *Gaslight* on February 21-23. *Media*, by Countee Cullen, was substituted for the *Children's Hour* scheduled for March 28-29.

Records in the veterans administration office at Lincoln show an increase of 38 veterans enrolled for the second semester over the previous term, bringing the total up to 335.

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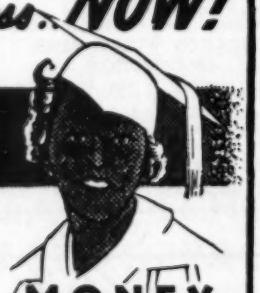

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Editorials

DEMOCRACY DEFINED AT MOSCOW

THE thirteen millions of Americans of African descent no doubt were thrilled to read of the re-definition of democracy as delivered before the Moscow Council of Foreign Ministers March 14 by the American Secretary of State, George C. Marshall.

Mr. Marshall was reading the Council, and particularly the Soviet Union, a lesson in democracy as conceived by "The American government and citizens." He was urging that the American conception of democracy be extended to the German people. Hear him:

"I realize that the word 'democracy' is given many interpretations. To the American government and citizens it has a basic meaning. We believe that human beings have certain inalienable rights—that is, rights which may not be given or taken away. . . . To us a society is not a democracy if men who respect the rights of their fellow men are not free to express their own beliefs and convictions without fear that they may be snatched away from their home or family. *To us a society is not free if law-abiding citizens live in fear of being denied the right to work or deprived of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.* (Italics ours).

Surely our Secretary of State, a good, able, and well-informed man, must have stuttered as he read these passages. Surely Messrs. Molotov and Vishinsky of the Soviet Union had difficulty hiding their smiles. For all of them know quite well that in the American state Negroes do not enjoy democracy as defined by Mr. Marshall. They know that to an extent Jews, Spanish-Americans, Orientals, and others are denied their democratic rights, both by the courts and by custom.

Mr. Marshall must have known that the minute a Negro steps over the District of Columbia line into Mr. Marshall's state of Virginia, he is stripped of many of the rights he may enjoy above that line. During the war against Hitlerism, literally thousands of Negro employes of the War Department who lived in Washington and worked in the huge Pentagon building where Mr. Marshall, as General Marshall, was top man, were humiliated and even attacked because the Pentagon building is in Virginia. Today, the airport which serves the nation's capital will not permit a Negro air traveler to eat in its dining room because it is located in Virginia. To the north of Washington, twenty minutes from the White House is the state of Maryland whose legislature last month refused to repeal its intra-state travel Jim Crow law.

Denied the right to work? During the war, with victory hanging in the balance, it took a Presidential executive order to get Negroes jobs in war plants and agencies. Last year a proposed fair employment practice law was filibustered to death in the U. S. Congress. All over the nation Negroes and others are denied the right to work and to be promoted. Individual Negroes have had to dig into their meagre earnings to finance costly litigation in the United States supreme court to establish their right to jobs as railroad firemen.

The right to vote—to choose their government freely? The states of Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Alabama have in effect defied the U. S. supreme court and instituted policies frankly designed to keep Negroes from voting.

Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness? Well, there are still the unsolved Monroe, Ga., lynchings in which two Negro men and their wives were shot dead in cold blood by a mob of 20 white men. There are the shameful housing practices where restrictive covenants, combined action of real estate boards and banks, and a policy of a government agency—the FHA—all result in Negroes and others adjudged to be non-Caucasians being barred from buying and occupying homes outside crowded ghettos.

Would a Negro like to pursue a little happiness at a theatre, a beach, pool, hotel, restaurant, on a train, plane, or ship, a golf course, summer or winter resort? Would he like to stop overnight in a tourist camp while he motors about his native land "Seeing America First"? Well, just let him try!

Mr. Marshall's predecessor, Mr. James Francis Byrnes of Spartanburg, S. C., lectured the nations of the world on free democratic elections in the Balkans, the while thousands of Negroes in his own state dared not vote. This is getting to be embarrassing. There was a time when America and Britain could talk about democracy and free men, etc., because both understood dark people, of course, were not included. Britain was never rude enough to refer to the Negro problem and America ignored South Africa and other spots in the British Empire.

But today another power sits in world councils. Russia is logical and cold and precise—and not always polite. Moreover, Russia, regardless of her other faults, has never subscribed to the Anglo-American color line philosophy. If the western powers are going to insist on certain definitions and practices in order to win points from Russia, then Russia insists that they come clean. No double talk. The Soviet position is not always based on human rights, but the mere fact that she is there at the bargaining table in this hard game being played for keeps, means that in the give and take human rights may now and then get a break.

America may preach about democracy and inalienable rights in her Senate, for example, whiles she kills an anti-lynching or an FEPC bill. But preaching about democracy before a world council of nations while practicing lynching is something else again. We have proved in the past that our hides are tough enough and our moral sense dull enough to stand this paradox without great shame. Whether the present struggle for power and survival will force us to do what shame could not remains to be seen.

Our Stake in the Labor Fight

By Clarence Mitchell

A raw January wind was treatening to tear away the handful of circulars she carried explaining the issues of the strike. Except for the hostile light in the doorway of the building, which housed a cafeteria, the street was dark. A few drops of water made me know that a cold rain was coming up in a matter of minutes. A uniformed guard was standing a few feet away, but he was there at the request of the employer. She had no assurance that he would give adequate protection against strike-breakers—one of whom had threatened some of the pickets with a knife earlier in the day.

This woman, trudging up and down in a lonely picket line, was one of 2,000 other Goverment Services, Inc., employees. Their employer operates most of the government cafeterias in Washington. They were on strike for better wages, time off when sick, and a few other elementary forms of protection that many industrial workers and almost all government employees take for granted.

With Thomas Richardson, international vice-president of her union, I had been trying to enlist support of persons who used the cafeteria she was picketing. For some reason, the employer in this case had seen fit to keep the place running as though there had been no strike. Most of the customers were government girls who lived in near-by dormitories. As the union official put it, "Many of the cafeteria workers didn't earn as much as the government girls paid for rent." This situation and the need for public support of workers may be duplicated many times about the country.

We Negroes have a definite stake in such struggles, for there are approximately a million-and-a-half colored persons in the AFL and CIO unions, and their economic well-being depends on the success of the great trade union movements of the country.

AFL employees of a chemical company in Alabama in April threatened a strike when management attempted

What are the real issues in the recent wave of strikes? Who is behind the anti-labor bills pending in Congress? What is the Negro's stake in the labor struggle? This article offers the answers

Acme

Harry L. Mitchell (center) presides at the opening session of the National Farm Labor Union (AFL), January 15. With him are Faris R. Benton (left), vice-president of the union, and Dorothy Dowe, secretary-treasurer

to include a five cent wage differential between the races in a new contract. Insisting that colored and white workers did not want to be divided, the union members forced the company to give all workers a twenty-five cent increase retroactive to six months. In Atlanta, the AFL Bridge and Structural Iron Workers fought for and won a clause in their contract which provides that there shall be no discrmination in hiring, firing, or promotion because of color.

In Baltimore, colored members of the Wholesale, Retail, and Department Store Employees began picketing for a living wage just before Christmas. It probably cost the employers money to have no customers during the Christmas rush, but it required real courage upon the part of the employees to go on strike. Many of them have children and Christmas without a pay check is dull indeed.

Living Cost Responsible

The increased cost of living is the major factor responsible for the recent larger work stoppages. The *Monthly Labor Review* for December, 1946, reports that over seventy-seven percent of all workers involved and about eighty-six percent of the man-days lost in strikes of 1,000 or more workers centered around wage issues. This was for the period from VJ-Day to June 30, 1946.

These disputes — the fight of the mine workers for wage increases, the struggles of the auto workers, and the needs of men in steel — are what well-fed Congressmen and some smooth talking executives refer to as the "labor problem." These gentlemen and a lot of other Americans who are taken-in by their propaganda have decided that now is the time to give labor the works. "This time," they say, "we shall amend the Wagner Act, cut out the closed shop, and give the employer the same rights of free speech as the employee."

It is interesting to note in passing that when those who control the sale of meat throttled the country by snatching bacon from the breakfast tables in order to get a higher profit, their use of "educational" devices forced the president of the United States to eat crow and abolish controls. Furthermore, most of the screaming headlines blamed OPA for the shortage of meat instead of the real culprits. On the other hand, when unions work for pay raises, these same devices are used to lambast them for being too arrogant.

Since three-fourths of the gainfully employed people in this country are wage and salary earners, it is not possible to pass repressive labor legislation without first dividing the workers into "warring camps." As Walter Reuther said at the National CIO Convention, "They slip it to you while you are off guard." Between the "Afternoon of a Faun" and the "Moonlight Sonata," a silky voice on the radio identifies your interest with those of the big com-

panies by telling you how hard they are working to get that new car for you, to make your home a palace of comfort, and to provide jobs for veterans.

Your Aunt Minnie

A sign in a gift-wrapping department tells you that a present for Aunt Minnie can't be wrapped the way you want it because there are strikes in the paper mills; and, of course, when faced with the unpleasant prospect of freezing because your coal bin is empty, you are likely to be prodded into taking a short cut to the nearest person who says he can do something about it.

And in the 80th Congress, there are dozens of experts who say they can do something about it. Yet many of these same men scuttled price control in the last Congress. They are also the ones who let the FEPC bill die a quiet death. Now they propose to make it almost impossible for working people, through collective bargaining, to earn sufficient wages to meet the higher cost of living. They want to break up industry-wide bargaining. They want to have you believe that once unions have been "cut down to size," the nation's economy will be in perfect working order.

One particularly iniquitous argument offered to colored people is that you must be against the closed shop if you advocate FEPC legislation. Some editorial writers have already swallowed this bait, and far too many believe it. These people haven't bothered to read the "fine print" which shows that this same legislation would also strike at union shops, maintenance of membership, and a lot of other things which have been won through the years. Section 2 of Senate Bill 105 provides that: "No employee and no individual seeking employment in an industry affecting commerce shall be required as a condition of obtaining or retaining employment to join or remain a member of or to support, or to refrain from joining or remaining a member of or supporting any labor organization."

Such a law would be a blow to the 95,000 colored members of the Steel Workers, the 50,000 members of the United Mine Workers, and the 30,000 members of the Packing House Workers. It would cripple the thousands of hotel and restaurant workers who, for the first time, have gotten a toe-hold on security through the use of some of these very contractual provisions.

Union Agreements

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that of the 12 million eligible workers in manufacturing in 1945 about sixty-seven percent or eight million were covered by some kind of union agreement. However, less than twenty percent of the workers in manufacturing were covered by closed-shop agreements under which the employer hires new workers through the union. About ten percent were covered by union-shop agreements under which the employer does not hire through the union though new workers must join after a certain period. In non-manufacturing employment, where seventeen million workers were eligible, considerably less than a fifth are covered by closed-shop agreements. Since the closed shop only requires that persons be union members at the time they are hired, no reasonable person can say that employment discrimination will end if we get rid of the closed shop. Some of the industries in which there is the worse discrimination are those which have no closed shop. A good illustration is the railroad industry. It has been the closed mind rather than the closed shop which has kept colored men from being engineers, conductors, and from many other types of skilled work.

Of course, if the "friends of the colored people" really want to crack discrimination in employment, they will pass an FEPC law with teeth in it. These "pals," however, are just as much against an FEPC as they are in favor of anti-labor legislation. One of them is Senator Clyde Hoey of North Carolina. Speaking at the Waldorf Astoria in New York on December 13 the senator expressed his profound knowledge of the Negro and his problems with this observation: "I read Hambone in the papers. You know Hambone is a character who represents the Negro race." He then explained to the gathering, which happened to be the Fortieth Annual Meeting of Life Insurance Association of America, that the first "long speech" he made in Congress was against the FEPC. A few seconds later he was saying, "I think we have some very unwise and very unfair labor laws now in force. I have been in favor of modifying the Wagner Act. I think it ought to be."

When Senator Hoey referred to his long speech, he meant filibuster. When he said modifying the Wagner Act, he meant destroying it.

The present anti-labor legislation before Congress must be fought by all persons who believe in civil liberty and justice. These attacks on labor can only lead to industrial strife and the destruction of job security. They also result in assaults upon social legislation in general. We must let Congress know, by wire, telephone, and letter, that the people have not given a mandate to Congress to return us to industrial chaos and wage slavery.

Alexander Archer

Caught here in intimate conversation are Philip Murray, president, Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), Willard S. Townsend, (center), president, United Transport Service Employees of America (CIO) and member CIO executive board, and Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr. (right), labor secretary, NAACP.

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An African village, Ensebbe Nyanda. *Alice Schalek-Three Lions*

French Terror in Negro Africa

By Emile Faure

In this article a well-known French citizen deflates the popular myth that the French colonial system in Africa is a "civilizing mission"

APPARENTLY an easy way to set about describing French colonialism would be for the writer to tell how it actually works in practice. But the crafty administrators of the system have ingeniously made use of any such pragmatic method well-nigh impossible — because of the almost endless variations in practice. If you criticize them their reply is that this is a particular, localized, temporary outrage imposed by local circumstances, or that it is a regrettable case of individual abuse. They will tell you that you must not generalize, since there are abuses everywhere; and, taking everything into consideration, the French colonial system is humane and offers the natives material and moral benefits of which they had not known.

But the greatest fault is that nothing is ever done to justify the generalization, a fact which limits testimony upon the system in both time and space. I managed to get at some of the facts after a six-year sojourn, four of them spent in jails on the Ivory Coast and in the Sudan, which will permit me to give some idea of the actual workings, fifty years after France has installed herself in Negro Africa, of the French system of "maternal tutelage." I make, of course, no claim that all the methods described are functioning at the present time.

Oppression, too, has gradations, and in the colonies they make use of a system of "political trickery" which consists in a momentary easing up on the natives for a short time and then following this up with aggravated treatment to the very limits of their endurance, and thus it goes. Since these fluctuations in treatment almost always coincide with a change in colonial governors or administrators, the natives

are made to believe that their misery results from individual abuse rather than from a definite policy of imposition. Thus the local administrators are protected from the legitimate hate of the ruled. Regardless of the method employed, the aim is always the same: to maintain French domination through terror and humiliation; to enforce the concept of the superiority of the white caste over the black by multiply injustices in favor of the former; to expose the natives to the interests of the colonists, without attaching any more importance to their interests or their lives than if they were so many wild animals captured in the bush; and to prepare for the future peopling of Africa by whites by encouraging depopulation and confiscation of native lands and riches. Obviously, these goals are not openly admitted, especially to foreigners.

Two Evils

The coming of the white man has brought two terrible evils to Negro Africa — tuberculosis and pestilence. Lack of medical care, coupled with the appearance of many diseases hitherto unknown in Africa, and the propagation of other diseases such as sleeping sickness, which the natives contract when they flee to the forests, white tyranny and malaria, which they contract when they flee to the marshes, are among the principal causes of the present depopulation of Africa at the very moment when, in spite of the war, the population of other continents register an increase.

This tendency toward depopulation is further aggravated by physiological poverty, undernourishment, and bad treatment. Black Africa should be producing some of the world's most magnificent athletes, but, as a matter of fact, the Negro African appears sickly when compared with the white man, who has been well-nourished from infancy. At the present time much of the rural population has for months now had its efforts diverted from the raising of food crops to the production of raw materials profitable to the colonial exploiters. And these unproductive workers, naturally, must live upon the food produced by the rest of the village; the result is an unbelievable undernourishment for every one. Almost no food at all is imported for the natives; while the white population, which is increasing and consumes a good deal of food, lives upon the country and actually exports enormous quantities of food to France. This undernourishment, coupled with an almost incredibly high death rate, is paralled by a startling debasement of native morality; perhaps the greatest and the most irreparable crime of the colonial system.

Though one may vainly deplore the debilitating influence of the white man in Africa, he is forced to admit that a despoiled people finds it difficult not to regard official honesty as the mark of a fool. Moreover, moral decay in Africa is accelerated for the following reasons:

First are the increasing examples of dishonesty set by the administration and private enterprise. In an effort to protect white prestige the authorities will conceal such malfeasance, but it cannot be hid from the natives. How can they be asked then not to commit petty larceny, if the occasion presents itself, when there is the daily example of Europeans using the administration and private business for pillage and the buying of justice?

Secondly, the administration regards it as sound policy to jail all sorts of perfectly respectable people. For example, they will jail people who still owe payments on their taxes, or village chiefs whose villages have failed to furnish the requisite number of workers or who did not come up with the sort of harvest demanded by the authorities. And the so-called native courts will condemn, in much the same manner, without proof or any pretence at justice, every Negro the police haul in. As for the European tribunals, which pass upon crimes deemed prejudicial to the whites, the mere formal accusation of a white man against a Negro is regarded as proof of guilt.

Here is an incident of this kind. A lawyer's wife, without making the slightest attempt at investigation, had a domestic of hers sentenced to a year in prison for the theft of four yards of percale, worth thirty cents a yard. She had bought this material for another servant, a cook, she had in her employ; he had found the material on a chair, picked it up and carried it home. Though these facts came to light after the servant had been sentenced, the innocent man had to serve out his year in prison just the same. His boss, the lawyer, then gave him a five dollar gift as a consolation. And everybody in French Africa is familiar with the practice of certain whites who, at the end of the month, will have their servants convicted for some crime rather than to pay them their wages. In this way the authorities achieve a double psychological goal: first, they convince the Negro that he is always wrong when he gets into a dispute with a white man, and that what the latter says is *ipso facto* the truth. Since the natives understand this very well, they never contradict a white man. Secondly, the

British Combine, Photo Match

Left to right, Girls at a public school in Rufisque, French West Africa, learn the proper care of babies. Senegalese soldiers beating the tom-tom. Teacher and pupils in a public school at Rufisque.

A street scene in Dakar, Senegal, French West Africa. *British Combine*

European is convinced that such maneuvers awe the natives into believing that no one can escape the strong arm of the white police.

Natives are frequently found guilty simply because it is an easy means whereby the administration can secure needed manual laborers for work that nobody else wants to do. Sometimes the arrest involves a peculiarly personal reason like that surrounding the guilty Senegalese detained at Ségou [a river port and trading station on the Niger] in the Sudan. Because he was a "citizen" the administration had to treat him just as they would any other European. But they had no prisoner in the jail to cook for him. "To-morrow we'll have a cook for you," the commissioner of police told him. So the next day the police went out in town and arrested a cook and then gave him a three-year jail term. The Senegalese was detained for about a month, but when he got into an argument with the jailer he was transferred to Bamako. The now unemployed cook, however, still had to serve out his sentence.

Ignominious Punishment

Thirty years of such doings in Negro Africa have changed an ignominious and morally unendurable punishment into a harmless misfortune. Imprisonment is now regarded as simply another manifestation of white oppression. Since shame was the affliction the African used to fear most, the prison, which has now lost its function as a producer of shame, is no longer dreaded by the "guilty." The full effect of this are obvious from the typical declarations of two young people; the one educated, the other not. Both had been convicted by the "European" tribunals on the Ivory Coast and in the Sudan for sizeable thefts from Europeans. Since no proof of their theft was ever adduced, their sentences were shortened.

Here is what the first fellow told me in very excellent French: "Sure, I really stole. I knew very well that I was going to be a miserable worker toiling for the rest of my life to make profits for the whites. I decided that at the first opportunity I'd grab enough money to live on for the rest of my life. I consider my stealing a perfectly legitimate act."

The second youth gave exactly the same explanation, but in broken French.

This lamentable situation of the Negroes in the French colonies is a direct outgrowth of their political status, and this may be easily summed up in the four words: *They have no rights.* Like the serfs of the middle ages they are "taxable and workable at will," and the administration has, like the seignior, the "right of life and death over them." Although there are no oubliettes in private residences, there are, nevertheless, cells in the jails into which many unfortunate victims have disappeared without trace.

The administrators who can boast that they have never had an innocent man flogged to death are a rarity. Even when it is done out of sadism (the sun and malaria soon soften the brain of the white man), it fits right in with their established policy; and the administrator's vanity, never seriously questioned, makes him believe in his own infallibility. Doubly unfortunate, then, the unhappy victim the administrator suspects of guilt. A confession generally means merciless flogging and torture to the death.

For example, a young woman of loose morals was accused by her boss of stealing 15,000 francs. For weeks they had tried to beat a confession out of her, and she was so badly bruised that she could not even sit down. For nourishment they gave her bowls of dirty water. Finally, out of pity, a young business man from the Gold coast sent her food; but this simple gesture of kindness was considered by the authorities as proof of complicity in the theft and he, too, was arrested. In order to lighten his sentence, the young woman began to denounce by turns all the young people in her village. And they were all beaten in an effort to make them confess where the money was hidden. The woman finally told them about a cache in which she had hidden her savings, but a search revealed only 5,000 francs. Then she offered to point out the real hiding place herself. This turned out to be a ruse for her to get to a certain water-closet into which she threw herself in an attempt at suicide.

One day one of these administrators received a visit from his maid, who said to him: "You recently had a man whipped to death for a certain crime of which he was innocent. I'm the guilty one." But such outrageous conduct did not prevent this same administrator from later becoming governor. Only one of these fellows, within the memory of men now living on the Ivory Coast, has ever been arrested for such conduct. This was really a let-

(Continued on page 124)

Photo Match

Senator Portman and a Senegalese deputy

A Friend in High Places: Thomas Jefferson

By Eva Beard

Though Jefferson never wavered in his opposition to slavery, he seems, on the other hand, to have had an ambivalent attitude toward Negroes. Many passages in his writings would suggest that he believed in the inherent inferiority of the black. "Never yet could I find that a black had uttered a thought above the level of plain narration; never even saw an elementary trait or painting or sculpture," he once wrote. Jefferson advocated manumission of the slaves, but he also wanted them settled outside the borders of the country in an independent state. His early belief in Negro inferiority was probably based simply upon his ignorance of Negro achievement and the fact that at the time he knew few educated Negroes.

For as soon as he became acquainted with the talents of the Negro mathematician, Benjamin Banneker, he secured a place for Banneker on the commission that was surveying and laying out Washington. He also gave the scholar Julius Melbourn the use of his library and invited in famous men to meet the Negro. And when the Abbé Henri Grégoire sent Jefferson a copy of his De la littérature des nègres, *Jefferson wrote: "No person living wishes more sincerely than I do to see a complete refutation of the doubts I have myself entertained and expressed in the grade of understanding allotted them [Negroes] by nature, and to find that in this respect they are on a par with ourselves."—Ed.*

Jefferson saw the inconsistency in the position of the American colonists in their advocating man's natural rights to be free while they themselves held slaves. His birthday on April 13 gives timely interest to this article

"THE Negroes discovered the approach of the carriage as soon as it reached Shadwell (about four miles from Monticello)" wrote Martha Jefferson Randolph, describing her father's return in 1789 after five years in France, during the last four of which he had replaced Benjamin Franklin as minister, "and such a scene I never witnessed in my life. They collected in crowds about it, and almost drew it up the mountain by hand. The shouting had been sufficiently obstreperous before, but the moment it arrived at the top, it reached the climax. Then the door of the carriage was opened, they received him in their arms and bore him to the house, crowding around and kissing his hands and feet — some blubbering and crying — others laughing. It seemed impossible to satisfy their anxiety to touch and kiss the very earth which bore him. These were the first ebullitions of joy for his return after a long absence, which they would, of course, feel; but . . . they were at all times very devoted in their attachment to him."

Thomas Jefferson, most unwilling of slave owners, owned more than a hundred and fifty, all of whom came to him from his father's and his wife's estates. He himself never purchased a single slave; and he would have freed all those he owned at his death had they not been the property of his creditors. His relations with his Negroes partook of the same affectionate kindliness that characterized all his domestic life.

"His Negroes are clothed and treated as well as white servants could be," wrote Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, philosopher and former president of the National Assembly, describing a week spent at Monticello. "He animates them by rewards and distinctions . . ."

And Jefferson's slaves could not be ignorant that their master was also their friend both at home and in the councils of the great where lived their hope of freedom—a hope far from dim at this period, since it was based on the self interest of their owners even more than in their humanity. Virginia already had too many slaves; in the year 1756 about 120,000 in a total population of 292,000, a small proportion in comparison with states farther south. But by 1776 the highly prolific Negroes in Virginia had doubled their numbers to an estimated 250,000. The more intelligent of upper class Virginians, most of them slave holders themselves, were convinced that slavery as an institution was utterly uneconomic, a degradation and a disaster, ruinous to land, to master and slave alike.

In fact, at the date when the Declaration of Independence was written, the general sentiment in all the colonies was against slavery and in favor of gradual emancipation by law. Since there was no division of states into slave and free, sectional feeling on the subject was for the most part a future, rather than a present problem. And the actual date for freeing the slaves being also a matter for the undetermined future, the subject could be considered openly, though certainly not without bitterness.

Virginia statesmen could hardly remain unaware of the latent feeling. In the year 1769 a new burgess of the Virginia House was made a member of the Committee of Proposition and Grievances which was instructed "to prepare and bring in a bill to amend the act entitled an act to amend the act for the better government of servants and slaves." In 1814 Jefferson wrote to Edward Coles describing the incident: "In the first or second session of the legislature after I became a member, I drew this subject to the attention of Col. Bland, one of the oldest, ablest and most respected members, and he undertook to move for certain moderate extensions of the protection of the law to these people. I seconded his motion, and as a younger member, was spared in the debate; but he was denounced as an enemy of his country, and was treated with the grossest indecorum." The legislature, instead of liberalizing the act to permit freed slaves to live in Virginia, in accordance with Jefferson's views, made it even harsher. It was not until the year 1782 that Jefferson's ideas bore fruit through the efforts of James Madison, his ever loyal supporter, and

an act was passed reading that an owner might free a slave if he guaranteed that the freedman would not become a public charge. In the eight years following, this act resulted in the freeing of 10,000 slaves.

Abolition of Domestic Slavery

The author of "A Summary View of the Rights of British America" was taken ill on his way to the Virginia Convention which was to meet at Williamsburg on August 1, 1774, in order to choose delegates to a General Congress of the colonies. He sent on the paper by way of Peyton Randolph and Patrick Henry, the latter of whom ignored it. The Convention read and on the whole approved, but thought the trumpet tones of this remarkable document overloud to be played at the moment. "A Summary View," titled by the Assembly and printed by it as a pamphlet, contained the following passage:

"The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in these colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importation from Africa; yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition, have hitherto been defeated by his majesty's negative; thus preferring the immediate advantage of a few British corsairs to the lasting interests of the American States and to the rights of human nature deeply wounded by this infamous practice."

A similar clause in the original draft of the Declaration of Independence was stricken out of the final draft, South Carolina and Georgia views on the subject being found to resemble the King's too closely.

The revision of the laws of the state of Virginia, in which Jefferson played a leading role, followed hard upon the Declaration. His own feeling was to try for the immediate abolition of slavery.—"to keep in slavery beings born with equal rights to us and who do not differ from us in anything but color is an injustice both barbarous and cruel, and even shameful." But even George Mason, leading abolitionist and author of the Virginia Constitution—the "Bill of Rights"—believed that slave owners should be obliged first to prepare their slaves for freedom through education.

"A Bill Concerning Slaves," presented by the revisors in 1779 and rejected by the Assembly, reads in part:

"No persons shall, henceforth, be slaves within this commonwealth, except such as were so on the first day of this present session of Assembly, and the descendants of the families of them. Negroes and mulattoes which shall hereafter be brought into the commonwealth and kept therein one whole year, together, or so long at different times as shall amount to one year, shall be free. But if they shall not depart the commonwealth within one year they shall be out of the protection of the laws."

Acme

CENTENARIAN PLUS—*Bob Wilson reads his Bible in Elgin State Hospital as he celebrates his 111th birthday. Mr. Wilson was born on a Virginia plantation and served with the Confederate army during the Civil War. The hospital has copies of his Confederate records which prove his age.*

Virginians were deeply aroused by Lord Dunmore's proclamation of 1775, freeing all slaves in Virginia who were capable of bearing arms. And presently war swept over the ill-armed Old Dominion and its war governor, Thomas Jefferson (1779-81), himself barely escaped the hands of the enemy when Lord Cornwallis' troops ravaged Albemarle County. They carried off about thirty slaves from Monticello . . . "Had this been to give them freedom, he would have done right;" wrote Jefferson to Dr. Gordon in 1788, "but it was to consign them to inevitable death from the small pox and putrid fever [typhoid] then ravaging his camp. . ."

The retiring war governor, weary indeed of office and convinced at the moment that his retirement from public life was permanent, busied himself, at the request of the French government, through M. de Barbé-Marbois, secretary of the French legation in Philadelphia, with the peparation of his famous "Notes on Virginia," which is considered the first important American contribution to natural history. He had 200 copies printed for distribution among his friends, cautioning them not to let the little book out of their hands, since he rightly foresaw danger in the publication of certain of his ideas, notably those on slavery. Printed it was, however, first in an inaccurate translation in Paris; and shortly after, rather in self-defense, in London. It circulated widely at home and abroad.

Jefferson's Plan

Here first appears Jefferson's plan for the creation of a free and independent Negro state outside the confines of the United States; the plan which in essence bore fruit in the founding of Liberia in 1822. "Notes on Virginia" contains also an abortive, semi-scientific study of the Negro race in America, for which Jefferson in later years was rather to apologize than to make defense. But there can hardly be found in all literature a better expression of the evil of master-slave relation, white or black, than the following:

"There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no other motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion toward his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities."

On March 1, 1784, Congress accepted the land called the Northwestern Territory, ceded by Virginia to the national government. As chairman of a committee to prepare a "Plan for the Temporary Government of the Western Territory," Jefferson drafted two bills, the latter of which, after amendment, was adopted on April 23, 1784. The clause on slavery— . . ."that after the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said states, otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been convicted to have been personally guilty." — lost by one vote. "Heaven was silent in that awful moment! But it is to be hoped that it will

(Continued on page 123)

Has Sartre Slandered the South?

The reactions of expatriate Americans in Paris to Jean-Paul Sartre's* La Putain Respectueuse *is an interesting commentary on American color prejudice.

LAST November two lengthy playlets by the French Existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre turned up on the boards of the Théâtre Antoine in Paris. One playlet, *Les Morts sans Sépulture* ("The Unburied Dead"), dealt with the French resistance movement during the Nazi occupation of France; the other, *La Putain Respectueuse* ("The Respectful Whore"), which was on the same bill, is concerned with the American race problem in the guise of a deep-south lynching. Both plays made quite a stir in Paris; *The Unburied Dead*, because the author dared to present scenes of torture directly on the stage; *The Respectful Whore*, because of the questionable taste in building a play around a prostitute, especially since prostitution had been outlawed in France only the month before, and the supposed libel of the lynching theme on the United States.

Much of the newspaper comment went as follows: *France Libre* of November 10 said, "The intense realism of Vitold's production of J.-P. Sartre's two plays at the Théâtre Antoine led to catcalls Thursday night [November 7] and cries of 'Enough! Enough! Cut it out!'" In *Franc-Tireur* of November 10, Jean Gandrey-Rety writes: "Neither play has been well-received by the public, composed for the most part—excluding the drama critics—of selected guests of the producer and the author. There was hissing night before last [November 8], and the day before there was much 'ragging.'" Gabriel Marcel writing in *Les Nouvelles Littéraires* of November 21 says, "Such subjects [as the theme of *The Respectful Whore*] must needs be treated more circumspectly. People will perhaps think this a strange manner for an author to express his gratitude after such a warm reception in the United States. . . ." And Carlo Rim adds his pictorial comment in a piece of typical Gallic humor with his cartoon strip of November 29 in *Les Lettres Françaises*: "Monsieur V . . . et la P . . . respectueuse."

But the real fuss was over *The Respectful Whore* on the grounds, to use the illuminating phrase of the Paris Municipal Councilor, M. Frédéric du Pont, that the play was " a gross defamation against the great American democracy. (*Sic!*) M. duPont, according to the New York *Herald-Tribune* of November 21, said that he was going to submit a protest to the Paris *Préfet de Police* against the appearance of the play. Many sensitive Americans resident in Paris felt much the same way as M. duPont, but with much less justification. The big difference between the Paris Municipal Councilor and the American expatriates in respect to M. Sartre's play was that M. duPont thought it slanderous, while the Americans knew better. With six persons lynched in the United States in 1946 and thousands since records have been kept, no informed American could well object to *La Putain* on the grounds of "defamation."

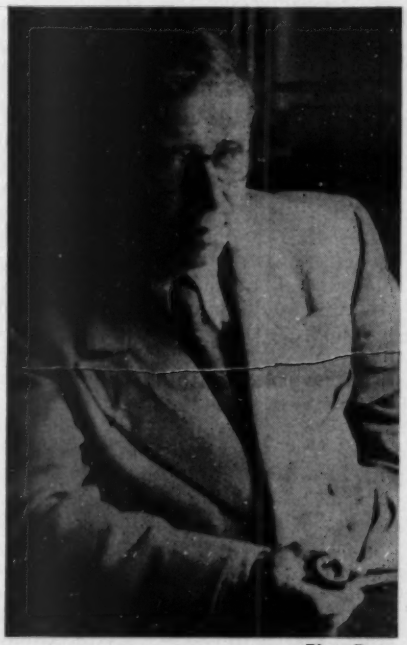


Photo France

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

One of Sartre's plays, No Exit (Huis Clos), ran on Broadway for a short while.

It should be pointed out here that M. Sartre wrote his play after a trip to the United States in 1945. Sartre also answered his critics in the press: "I am not at all anti-American. Neither do I understand what 'anti-American' means. . . . One finds over there institutions, ways of thinking and ways of living which are excellent, and some which are not so good."

Just how the dramatization of a lynching, which has been done in this country even, a practice as indigenous to America as pumpkin pie or Mother's Day, can be called slanderous is really an enigma. One can admit at the outset that the play contains one or two far-fetched scenes, that its psychology is sometimes wobbly, and that Sartre's Southerners do not always ring true; yet this does not invalidate the truth that the play is a pretty accurate picture of southern mores.

The story of the play is as follows: The opening scene takes place in the prostitute's quarters in a town in the Deep South. A frightened Negro, accused of an attack upon Lizzie, the prostitute, is pleading with her to testify to his innocence. But Lizzie refuses his request and puts him out. At this point Fred, a customer she had hidden in the bathroom while the Negro was present, comes out and wants to know who it was to whom she had been talking. Lizzie tells him it was a customer. He accepts this explanation and then begins bickering with Lizzie over her fee. Fred angrily berates her for her sluttishness and her greed, and during the quarrel gets her to admit that she is the woman who came into town a few days before on the six-o'clock express. "Aren't you the woman the Negro tried to rape?" yells Fred. "Why do you ask that?" queries Lizzie. "Didn't you come in on the six-o'clock express?" Fred adds. "Yes," says Lizzie. "Then you must be the woman," Fred explains. "But nobody tried to rape me. (*She laughs bitterly.*) Rape me? Why, man, you must be crazy!"

Fred, of course, knows that Lizzie is the woman involved and is determined to get her to admit to the attempted rape. He even goes to the length of giving his and the town's version of what had actually happened in that

coach a few days earlier. Lizzie, however, sticks to her story that the Negroes in her coach never molested her, and that some white men entered and made an unprovoked attack upon the Negroes. One of the Negroes was killed; the other escaped.

It now turns out that Fred's real purpose in spending the night with Lizzie was to get her to sign a statement accusing the surviving Negro of the attempted attack, in order to free his cousin, Thomas, the man being held for the shooting. But Lizzie refuses to sign.

Enter two cops who are working in cahoots with Fred. They try to frighten Lizzie into giving her signature, but she is adamant and refuses to sign. Then Fred's father, Senator Clark, comes in to plead with Lizzie. He tells her that he does not want his nephew, Thomas, to go to jail for shooting a Negro; that Thomas' mother's heart will be broken if her son is convicted; and that Thomas' mother is his sister and he is trying to help her. The Senator even hints that his family will make her respectable if she signs. Under this sentimental barrage Lizzie signs. As soon as this is reported to the mob, the man-hunt is on. Though the right Negro is not caught, one is lynched anyway.

In the meantime the hunted Negro, who has managed to elude the mob, returns to Lizzie's room, seeking refuge. Though she lets him in, she refuses to hide him and gives him a revolver with which to defend himself. "Now, I'm going to open the door and invite them in," explains Lizzie. "For twenty-five years they have been short-changing me with white-haired old mothers, war heroes, and the great American nation. Now I know better. I won't be taken in any longer. I'm going to open the door and explain to them: 'He's here. Yes, he's here, but he's done nothing. They made me sign. I swear to God he did nothing."

"But they won't believe you," says the Negro. "Perhaps they won't. Perhaps they won't believe me. Then you'll aim your revolver and if they won't go away, you'll shoot into the mob," urges Lizzie. "But others will come," says the Negro. "But you'll shoot the others, too. And if you see the Senator's son, Fred, please don't miss him, because he's the one at the bottom of all this. We're cornered anyway. This is our last chance. I tell you, if they catch you here, my life's not worth a dime. Just as well die fighting," she says.

But the Negro says he cannot shoot white folks. Hearing noises on the steps, Lizzie hides him in the bathroom. It is Fred, coming to ask her to accept his offer of a mansion on the hill. He hears a noise in the bathroom and asks who it is. It is just another customer, Lizzie explains; but Fred is not convinced and flings open the bathroom door. The Negro flees; Fred shoots at him, but misses. He is probably caught later by the mob. The play closes with Lizzie accepting Fred's offer of a mansion, money, and jewels.

Does this story slander the South? The answer, of course, is an emphatic NO. There is no incident in the nine scenes of this play for which one cannot find an actual counterpart in the South. As a matter of fact some scenes read like skillful reporting of the notorious Scottsboro case. Sartre has a firm grasp on the essential characteristics of the Southerner, his insensate hatreds, his frustrations; his lofty moral pretensions, his sadistic prejudices, and his fraudlent chivalry.

The Respectful Whore is probably the world's only funny play about a southern lynching, what the French call a *comédie-bouffe*. Of course, there are faults in the play and some of the scenes are, to say the least, highly implausible. For example, no Negro accused of attempted rape upon a white woman in the South would dare seek out that woman to ask her to testify in his favor. Such things simply do not happen in the South! And imagine a Negro being pursued by a mob seeking refuge in that same trollop's room. Or can you imagine a white woman giving a Negro a gun to defend himself against a white mob? Or, if given a gun, whining as this one does: "I can't shoot white folks?" Can you imagine a prominent southern white man being arrested for shooting a Negro, especially when that white man shot in defense of a white woman's honor?

Excepting a few minor faults, as above, the play is a more or less accurate transcript of certain aspects of the southern scene with its "so red the rose" traditions, its intense family pride, its inverted patriotism, its cultural barreness, and its cancerous race prejudice.

As for the characters in the play, Sartre's heroine, the trollop Lizzie, is fundamentally the most morally honest person in the play. The play has an excellent cast, including Hélèn Bossis as Lizzie; Y. Vincent, as Fred; and Habib Benglia, as the Negro.

J. W. I.

A REQUEST

Dr. Herbert Aptheker is now engaged in editing the letters and papers of William Edward Burghardt Du Bois. Will those having such manuscripts please communicate with Dr. Aptheker at

1015 Washington Avenue
Brooklyn 25, N. Y.

CENTENNIAL TEA

A Liberian centennial tea was held in the assembly room of the Young Women's Christian Association, 135 East 52nd St., New York City, on February 21. The tea was held under the auspices of Mrs. Wendell Willkie and Mrs. Kendall Emerson. Speakers were Mrs. Ellen Mills Scarbrough, senior supervisor of public instruction in the Republic of Liberia; and Dr. Channing H. Tobias, executive director of the Phelps Stokes Fund.

PI LAMBDA THETA AWARDS

The Pi Lambda Theta, National Association for Women in Education, is again this year announcing the granting of two awards of $400 each for significant research studies on "Professional Problems of Women." The awards will be granted on or before August 15, 1947.

An unpublished study may be submitted on any aspect of the professional problems and contributions of women, either in education or some other field. No study granted an award shall become the property of Pi Lambda Theta, nor shall Pi Lambda Theta in any way restrict the subsequent publication of a study for which an award is granted, except that Pi Lambda Theta shall have the privilege of inserting an introductory statement in the printed form of the study for which an award is made.

A study may be submitted by any individual whether or not engaged at present in educational work, or by any chapter or group members of Pi Lambda Theta.

DREAMER DECEASED

(An Epitaph for George W. Carver)

Dreamer deceased;
From earth's life released:
Once Fire was fleshed,
But now gathers rust;
In earth lies enmeshed
And dreams in the dust.

AVON SMOLLER

A TESTIMONIAL FOR SERVICE

ON January 13 The Century Association of New York the most distinguished literary club in the United States, celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of its founding by a dinner in its club house attended by four hundred members. After the dinner and the speeches made after it the members adjourned to the regular meeting room where still further exercises were held. The outstanding feature of these was the acclaim given to some fifteen of the Negro employees of the club, who have served it fifteen or more years. William Pringle, now in charge of the billiard room, who is in his 49th year of service, received a gold medal as well as a framed testimonial. Four others, John Campbell, Charles Smith, Frank Grant and William Daniel, received silver medals and strong testimonials to their faithful service of twenty-five or more years, while bronze medals and the accompanying acknowledgements of high character and devoted fidelity to duty for fifteen years went to the assistant librarian, Andrew M. Burris, and to nine other workers, Maynard Thomas, Marshall Thomas, Percy Squires, Andrew Cisco, Samuel Middleton, David Davidson, Edward Cruse, Emanuel Welters and Sherman Woodruff.

While white employees were also recognized for similar service, the applause given to these colored co-workers was more spontaneous and enthusiastic than that for more than two or three of the others—among them the superintendent. It was a moving proof of the friendship, respect and regard the membership has for its colored staff in which there is not the slightest condescension, but a genuine as well as hearty appreciation of their sterling qualities, their reliability and their pride in the club, which could not possibly be greater.

These men often take part in the Century's ceremonies, as when on New Year's Eve four of them carry the large punch-bowl in the midnight procession of the members to welcome in the New Year. Mr. Burris, for example, lights the lamp on the silver memorial column which has burned at every meeting of the Century since May, 1901. Before that time it similarly served The Column, a literary society founded in 1825 whose last two members donated the silver column to The Century.

William Daniel has long welcomed all who come to the Club. Standing by the name-board in the front hall, his beaming smile is never failing, and his amazing memory for names and faces astounds everyone.

Altogether nearly one-half of the Century's employees, some twenty-nine men, are colored. It would be difficult to imagine anywhere more complete cooperation than there is in the Century or a finer mutual understanding, or better team-work based on genuine friendship.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

TURKISH ENGINEER

Top, Halit Der'er; bottom, Der'er and his wife. There seems to be much more social democracy in Turkey than in the "democratic" United States if the position of Mr. Der'er in the Turkish merchant marine is any indication. Mr. Der'er is chief engineer of the Turkish ship Bakir, which docked at Brooklyn, N. Y., in March. A Turkish Negro from Istanbul, Der'er works for the Devlet Deniz Yollavi (State Seas Transportation) and is a graduate of the Marine, Navy and Navigation school of that city. His present job came through the Turkish civil service and he has worked for the State Seas Transportation for the past twenty-five years. The 49-year-old officer ranks second in command on the Bakir to the captain, Nezihi Arda.

HOW MUCH

How much do I owe thee
Land of hope and glory?
How much boundless loyalty
Mother of the free?

How loud shall I sing the song
Shall I too extol thee?
Must I believe the ringing gong
As it chimes HAIL LIBERTY?

Can I place my trust in thee
Land of hope and glory?
How much will thy ransom be
Mother of the free?

VAL HARRIS

PRAYER

Lord, send sleep to my tired eyes.
They are so hot—brick ovens in the sun;
They are so dusty — old books cobwebbed in the bookshop;
They are so dull—brown shoes, kicked and scuffed.

I cannot look at You tonight,
For you would see the darkness circling them,
The rudely-etched, deep lines;
And they are heavy and the lids would droop,
Hiding Your glory.

God, while I am sleeping, rip away
The coldness from the crescent moon
And pierce it into my eyes
With diamonds stolen from the pointed stars.

Then in the morning, I shall open eyes,
Wide with the heaven in them.
They will be cool and deep like the blue up there.
They will shine and dance and sparkle;
They will match the brown of a robin winging by.
I shall see cloudy puffs and the sun's new gold.
And then I'll lift my eyes to You, O God,
And Your Image will remain, welled and bright within them.

LORRETTA JOHNSON

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

LYNCHING

MINDEN LYNCHERS ON TRIAL: Trial of five white men charged with depriving two Negroes, one of whom was beaten to death, of their civil liberties opened in Federal District Court at Shreveport, La., on February 24. The five white men, two of them deputy sheriffs of Webster Parish, La., are charged with conspiracy to deprive Albert Harris, Jr., and John C. Jones of rights, privileges, and immunities guaranteed them under the Constitution.

Federal district attorney Malcolm La Fargue stated at the opening of the trial that the prosecution would prove that deputy sheriff O. H. Haynes, Jr., one of the defendants, released Jones and Harris to a mob who were present at the Webster Parish jail at 8:30 P. M., August 8, 1946, and that the other defendants, members of the group on trial, took Harris and Jones to a bayou three miles north of Minden, where Harris was beaten into unconsciousness and Jones fatally. Other defendants in the case were Sam Maddry, Sr., W. D. Perkins, Harry Perry, and deputy sheriff C. N. Edwards. Charges against Minden police chief Benjamin Gantt were dropped because of lack of evidence.

Chief witness against the defendants was 17-year-old Albert Harris, Jr., whose body is still covered with the scars left by the lynchers' ropes and bludgeons. Young Harris is alive today because of the cooperation of NAACP investigators on the spot and Association officials in New York. Harris was spirited out of Louisiana and kept in hiding by the Association until time for him to testify before a federal grand jury.

The prosecution also had an impressive array of eyewitnesses, white and Negro, who saw the two Negroes seized by the mob in front of the jail. A Negro couple also testified that Jones had been at their home the entire evening of the Monday night when Mr. and Mrs. Maddry, Jr., alleged that Jones was trying to break into the Maddry home.

On March 1 an all-white U. S. District Court jury acquitted the five defendants after a five-day trial.

SOUTH CAROLINA: On February 20 eleven taxi drivers of Greenville confessed to complicity in the lynching of Willie Earle, 25-year-old Negro who was taken from the county jail at Pickens, S. C., on February 17, carried six

L. Moore

DONT CROSS THIS PICKET LINE
HELP US MAKE DEMOCRACY REAL
This THEATER SEGREGATES YOUR FELLOW AMERICANS
WAKE UP BALTIMORE WE ARE AMERICANS TOO

BRANCH ACTIVITIES—*Top, W. D. McLoud, vice-president of the Dayton, Ohio, branch presenting Mrs. Janie Hopey with an orchid at the installation banquet on January 3. (See Ohio branch news, page 120.) Bottom, Baltimore branch members are shown picketing Ford's theatre, at Fayette and Eutaw streets, in protest against the jim-crow seating policy which restricts all Negro patrons to the top balcony. So far, Ford's manager, Jack Little, has refused to make any change in policy. Shown, left to right, are Mrs. Juanita Jackson Mitchell, Miss Edna Johnson, Mrs. Elizabeth Meijer, and Mrs. Beatrice Martin.*

miles out of town and then stabbed and shot to death.

NAACP investigators said that Willie Earle was subject to epileptic attacks and that he was not regularly employed on this account. He is said to have arrived in his home at Liberty, S. C., six miles from Greenville, at 10:30 P. M. Saturday. The robbery and fatal attack on T. W. Brown, 50-year-old Greenville taxi driver, occurred Saturday night. The possibility exists, say Association investigators in South Carolina, that Earle was innocent; but since the white taxi driver died soon after "identifying" Earle, there is now little chance that anyone else could be held for the crime for which Earle was lynched.

MOB CASTRATES VETERAN: The bizarre revenge of a white Mississippi man on a Negro for the latter's interest in a Negro girl came to light recently in a report from the Chicago branch.

Mrs. Vera McLaurin, who wrote the information to the branch, said that W. C. Holloway, a friend of McLaurin's, and Lawrence Calvin Jenkins, an honorably discharged Navy veteran, both of Collins, Miss., accepted a lift from a white man after attending a movie in Collins. They had gone only a short distance when the driver told Holloway to get out of the car and out of town right away. The driver said Jenkins was the man he wanted.

The unnamed man then took Jenkins to a side road off Highway 49, north of Collins, where a group of white men were waiting. They tied Jenkins to a tree and castrated him with a razor blade.

Sheriff John Sandiford of Covington county said there was nothing he could do because Jenkins will not name his assailant, who is said to be interested in a Negro girl and was resentful of Jenkin's attention to her. The sheriff found the rope and razor used in the attack.

Press Association

LYNCH VICTIM *Willie Earle, who was stabbed and shot to death near Greenville, S. C., lies in a mortuary. R. C. Herd, Greenville taxicab dispatcher, admits "executing" the Negro.*

PARLIAMENTARY

AUSTIN-MAHONEY BILL: Strong support of this bill, which would outlaw discrimination in all schools and colleges in the state of New York, was given in a resolution passed unanimously by the NAACP board of directors on February 10.

RENT RISE: In testimony before the Senate Banking and Currency subcommittee on February 7 Leslie Perry, administrative assistant, Washington bureau pointed out that any blanket rent increase would fall disproportionately hard upon Negro citizens. The amount of housing for sale, or which is available to Negroes, is, because of restrictive covenants and agreements between private builders and landlords, severely limited. Hence the demand always exceeds the supply and the Negro tenant becomes an easy victim for exploitation.

DENIED ADMISSION—*Ex-GI George Carter who was denied admission to the Connecticut National Guard. The Bridgeport-Stratford branch has taken up his fight.*

Acme

RENT PICKETS—*A few of the thousand New Yorkers, including pickets from the New York branch, who staged a "March on Albany" on February 18 to demand legislation providing for the freezing of rents, non-eviction, and public housing.*

ANTI-LABOR BILLS: On March 20 Clarence Mitchell, labor secretary of the NAACP, testified before the Senate Committee on Labor and Welfare in opposition to the four "labor-control" bills, S. 55, S. 360, S. 105, and S. 133, now pending before the Senate. Mr. Mitchell said that he was speaking not only for the one and a half million Negro workers in CIO and AFL unions, but also for the millions of yet unorganized colored agricultural workers now being encouraged to join unions in order to raise their standard of living and increase their security.

Mr. Mitchell defended the right of labor to strike, opposed destruction of the closed shop, the union shop, maintenance of membership, and other benefits won by labor through the years.

ANTI-FILIBUSTER RESOLUTION: Testimony in support of two anti-filibuster resolutions was presented on February 4 before the Senate subcommitte of the Committee on Rules and Administration by Leslie Perry, administrative assistant, backing the anti-filibuster resolutions now before the Senate.

MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

QUOTAS ACCEPTED: Branches and states have whole-heartedly accepted the "Make it a Million" goal of the Association's membership campaign.

L. Monroe

ANNUAL BANQUET—*Guest speaker Dr. Charles H. Wesley (lower left), president Wilberforce university, and officers of the Dayton, Ohio, branch present an annual banquet held on January 31. Others in the picture are, first row, Miley C. Williamson, executive secretary; Dr. M. R. Clarke, president; standing, left to right, Oliver Robinson, treasurer; W. D. McLoud, vice-president; and Rev. G. W. Reed, chairman executive committee.*

The largest states and branches have started their drives early. The Ohio state conference of branches has accepted its quota of 42,000; A. Maceo Smith, secretary of the Texas state conference, reports that Texas has accepted its quota of 55,000 and designated Mrs. Lulu B. White, state director of branches, to promote the campaign; North Carolina has accepted its goal of 25,000; New York, 35,000; and Michigan, 25,000. The following branches have set top goals for themselves: Washington, D. C., 20,000; Philadelphia, 20,000; Kansas City, Missouri, 7,500; Cincinnati, 10,000; Louisville, 5,000; Nashville, 5,000; Memphis, 5,000; Los Angeles, 20,000; New Haven, 1,000; Montgomery, 2,500; Bridgeport, 2,500; Durham, 750; Greensboro, 1,000.

Among the prominent speakers who have agreed to speak on behalf of the campaign are the following: Charles W. Anderson, Louisville, Ky., attorney; Rev. Archibald J. Carey, Jr., Chicago pastor; Lucian B. Meriwether, Indianapolis city councilman; Rev. Robert Bradby, president of the Detroit branch; Theodore M. Berry, president of the Cincinnati branch; Dr. R. C. Riddle, distinguished physician of Benton Harbor, Mich.; Dr. John W. Davis, president West Virginia State College; and Z. Alexander Looby, attorney in the Columbus, Tenn., trials.

MISCELLANEOUS

FIELD SECRETARY: Gloster B. Current, director of branches, announces the appointment of Miss Marion O. Bond as new assistant field secretary to take the place of Miss Noma Jensen, who resigned March 1. Miss Bond has been national sales representative with the Pepsi-Cola Company for the past five years. She is a graduate of Lane college, Jackson, Tennessee. Miss Bond will continue the work Miss Jensen has been engaged in since October of 1945, specializing in the field of intercultural education for the Association.

WEST COAST CONFERENCE: More than 100 delegates from branches in California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Idaho, Utah, and Arizona registered at the regional conference held in San Francisco March 7-8. Noah W. Griffin, West Coast secretary, was in charge of the arrangements. Among those on the program were Gloster B. Current, Clarence Mitchell, labor secretary; Thurgood Marshall, chief counsel; and Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary. Employment, housing, education, and other problems were discussed during the two-day session.

NEW OFFICE: The West Coast office of the NAACP is now located at 916 Kearney Street, San Francisco, California.

STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS: On February 21 the NAACP presented to the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations a statement on the denial of human rights to minorities in the case of citizens of Negro descent in the United States and appealed to the United Nations for redress.

The statement was prepared by W. E. B. Du Bois, director of special research, NAACP; Earl B. Dickerson, president of the National Bar Association; Milton R. Konvitz, associate professor at Cornell; William R. Ming, Jr., associate professor, University of Chicago Legal Institute; Leslie Perry, administrative assistant, NAACP; and Dr. Rayford Logan, professor of history, Howard university.

The statement contains an introduction by Dr. Du Bois and chapters on the denial of legal rights of American Negroes from 1787 to 1914; the legal status of Americans of Negro descent since World War I; the present legal and social status of the American Negro; patterns of social discrimination against Negroes; and a review of the charter of UN and its provisions for human rights and the rights of minorities, as well as decisions already taken under this charter.

What the Branches Are Doing

CONNECTICUT: As a result of the efforts of the BRIDGEPORT-STRATFORD branch and its executive secretary, Mary H. Thornton, Governor James L. McConaughy (R.) of Connecticut has

Clark Photo

MEDAL PRESENTATION—*Madison Jones, Jr., administrative assistant, national office, NAACP, is shown presenting the life membership certificate and medal to miss Justina K. Spencer of the Roanoke, Va., branch. This is the first time that any NAACP branch has taken out a life membership with the national office.*

has taken steps to find out why Negroes are not admitted to the Connecticut National Guard. The governor learned of the practice when it was brought to his attention by the branch.

He said that he was "unqualifiedly opposed" to it and in telegrams to the governors of Massachusetts, Vermont, and Rhode Island, Governor McConaughy asked:

"Are you satisfied with Army policy of segregating into special units Negro soldiers of your state who desire to serve in the National Guard? I am not. I have just learned of this practice. I know the Navy has ended discrimination. I do not want to see it in Connecticut Army units."

McConaughy said he sent telegrams to these governors because their states, with Connecticut, have units in the 43rd division.

The man responsible for the actions of the Connecticut governor is ex-GI George Carter, an ETO veteran and the holder of a purple heart. About a month ago Carter and a white friend strolled into the Bridgeport armory to enlist in the guard. The officer in charge said: "You could join—you never could," pointing to Carter.

The official War Department position on the segregation of Negroes in National Guard units was set forth by Assistant Secretary of War Howard C. Petersen in a letter addressed to Miss Thornton under date of Februray 14:

"The latest and only authoritative statement on the utilization of Negro manpower in the Army is set forth in War Department Circular 124. . . .

"The National Guard of the United States is a Reserve Component of the Army of the United States and as such is administered, armed, uniformed, and trained by the Federal Government. The recruitment of enlisted men and the appointment of officers and the policies with respect thereto are a function delegated the National Guards of the several states, territories, and the District of Columbia."

COLORADO: The ten-point program of the COLORADO SPRINGS branch for 1947 is a follows: (1) State FEPC; (2) equal employment in city owned utilities; (3) against police brutality; (4) enforcement of the state civil rights bill; (5) fight for service in public eating places; (6) fight against discriminatory seating in theatres; (7) fight for equal education; (8) fight for equal hospitalization, social welfare, recreation and housing; (9) organization of state NAACP program; (10) and consultation with authorities on the jim crow (Colorado Southern) car that is brought out of Texas into Colorado.

Rapid News Photo

PERSONAL SECRETARY—*Mrs. Viola Lewis Scott of New York City is probably the only colored woman in the country holding a major secretarial position on a big white magazine. Mrs. Scott is personal secretary to Henry A. Wallace, editor of the liberal weekly,* THE NEW REPUBLIC. *Mrs. Scott was formerly secretary to* THE CRISIS.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: In February the WASHINGTON branch offered testimony before the Senate Banking and Currency sub committee in opposition to all bills under consideration by that committee which would permit general rent increase. The committee was also asked to retain present rent-control laws.

MARYLAND: A Negro has been employed at the city hall as a guard for the first time in the history of Baltimore. David L. Hubbard, a recent graduate of the BALTIMORE branch police school conducted by Edward N. Wilson, registrar at Morgan, is the new appointee.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE CHAPTER—*Maxine Sullivan with members of the Columbia university college chapter for whom she entertained at their first dance on February 14. With Miss Sullivan, left to right, are Al Greenberg, Bill Wright, Mrs. Ruby Hurley, youth secretary, NAACP; Burghardt Turner, behind Miss Sullivan; and two unnamed Columbia students.*

SECRETARY—*Mary H. Thornton, executive secretary Bridgeport-Stratford, Conn., branch.* *See "Branch News," page 118.*

MISSOURI: The picket line of the KANSAS CITY branch around the Kansas City music hall took a holiday on February 12, Lincoln's birthday, not because it was the Emancipator's birthday, but because Muriel Rahn, noted concert star, was scheduled to sing there.

For the past several months the Kansas City branch has been protesting against the jim-crow policy of the music-hall management which requires all Negroes to sit in the balcony. Some of the local theatres bar Negroes entirely. But in the case of Miss Rahn, who is under Negro management, the branch took a firm legal stand against the music-hall policy.

The local sponsors of the concert, Myles C. Stevens, Elmer C. Jackson, and James A. Hamlett, all attorneys, and a fourth member, Edward Goodloe, a local police officer, and all taxpayers, demanded and obtained use of the publicly-owned music hall, and then told the management: " We are going to give a public concert here and we're not going to 'discriminate' against our white friends. They may come and sit wherever they please in this auditorium, just as we are going to do. We are not prejudiced."

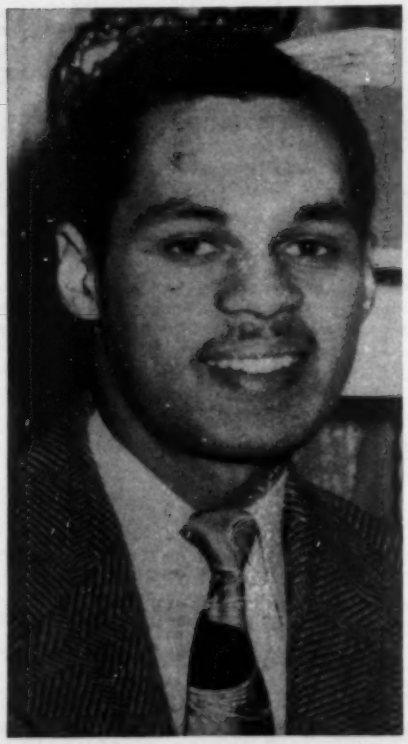
The management felt that the three Negro lawyers knew the law, and that the police were ready to back them up. Negroes and whites sat together and everybody was satisfied.

NEW JERSEY: Nearly one hundred members of the branch of the ORANGES attended the regular monthly meeting on February 11, at which time the newly elected officers and members of the executive board were installed by Reverend Sullivan, pastor of the First Baptist church, South Orange.

The following officers were installed: Samuel A. Williams, president; David De Graffenreid, vice-president; Mrs. H. T. Manning, second vice-president; Mrs. A. L. Bruce, secretary; Miss Elizabeth Alfred, assistant secretary; Dr. E. B. Simmons, financial secretary; and Mrs. Mary C. Woody, treasurer.

Members of the executive board are: William Ourdy, Joseph Mumforf, Mrs. Cora Johnson, Mrs. Delia Martin, Mrs. Mary Christian, and Mrs. Amy Ray.

Mr. Williams, in his acceptance speech, said, among other things, "The greatest success this branch has enjoyed, I think, was during the year 1944-1945. The year when we had 1,500 members. We were very proud of the accomplishments of our branch. I think that we could well return to the methods we used in those years. . . . We will try very hard to make our meetings more entertaining and more educational. . . ."



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APPOINTEE *Ridgley C. Bennett, Jr., 17, is to take the West Point entrance examinations. Bennett, a pupil at Stowe Teachers college, St. Louis, Mo., was appointed by Rep. Claude I. Bakewell (R., Mo.).*

The 38th anniversary tea of the branch of the Oranges was given by the entertainment committee on February 16 at the Oakwood branch of the YWCA. David De Graffenreid, vice-president, acted as master of ceremonies, and Gloster B. Current, director of branches, was the guest speaker.

OHIO: The DAYTON branch held its first annual banquet on January 31, with Dr. Charles H. Wesley, president of Wilberforce university, as the principal speaker. Other speakers on the program included Judges Calvin Crawford, Montgomery county common pleas court, and Mason Douglas, a former member of the Montgomery county bench. Judge Mason installed the officers for the year 1947.

Dr. M. R. Clarke was re-elected president, and was the recipient of a gift from the branch in recognition of his long and faithful years of service. Mrs. Janie Hopey, a 72-year-old matron, was presented with an orchid in recognition of her services.

As an outgrowth of the complaint lodged by the CINCINNATI branch relative to the listing of an examination for junior social worker, white, by the Municipal Civil Service Commission, the city council has instructed city manager Wilbur R. Kellogg to investigate and report on the branch protest. Mr. Kellogg reported that while the civil service code does not forbid use of the word "white" in the listing, it will in the future refrain from "making any

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POLICE CAPTAIN *Emanuel Kline of New York City, attached to the East 104th Street Police Station, is the first of his race to achieve this rank on the New York police force.*

NATIONAL PLANNING AND ADVISORY COMMITTEE *of the youth councils and college chapters of the NAACP met in New York City in the Wendell Willkie Memorial building February 15-16 to implement resolutions and recommendations made at the 8th annual youth conference held last November in New Orleans, La. Shown here are members of committee present: left to right, Bernard Jackson, Boston, Mass.; John Rigby, Alabama A. & M. college; Millie Brown, Seattle, Wash.; Robert Wilson, Columbia, S. C.; Gloria Rayford, Hampton Institute; back row, Charles Lewis, Boston; Daniel Neuson, Detroit, Mich.; Bernard Brown, St. Louis, Mo.; Lasker Schwartz, Columbia university; James Herndon, president Georgia state conference of youth councils and Morehouse college chapter; Iris Rittenberg, Cornell university; and John Matthews, Syracuse university.*

such listing as the one complained about."

Another instance of the "whitewash" tactics of the Cincinnati police department is evidenced by the report on the investigation of the case of Mrs. Virginia Turner of 1225 W. Seventh street, whose home was broken into by police officers of District 4 at the direction of Sgts. Robert Roncker and Ralph Bronstrop on January 24.

Mrs. Turner, an evangelist of the True Vine Spiritual church, was upstairs observing her day of prayer when her home was entered by a squad of policemen. They had broken the lock on her front door and against her protests began to search her house. Mrs. Turner brought her complaint to the branch, at whose insistence councilman Rollin H. Everett demanded a report from the city manager.

The report states that the officers had had the entire row of houses under surveillance for some time, and had thought the house at 1225 W. Seventh street unoccupied. The report states that when the officers knocked, they received no answer, and therefore they walked in. Lt. Col. William C. Adams, assistant chief of police, claims that the officers were "over zealous" and that they have been cautioned not to do this again.

As a result of his fight in the matter, the branch wrote councilman Rollin H. Everett a letter of praise. Mr. Everett claims that the leadership in the police department is responsible for many of the acts of police violance and disregard for civil liberties.

John W. Keefe, executive secretary of the local chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, delivered the principal address at the February 23 meeting of the branch held in the Allen Temple AME church.

PENNSYLVANIA: In PHILADELPHIA the branch got Mayor Bernard D. Samuel to sign the following proclamation:

Whereas the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has designated Sunday, February 9 for the commemoration and celebration of the establishment of the Association thirty-eight years ago, and

Whereas the Philadelphia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has arranged special exercises to emphasize the importance of supporting the purposes for which the organization was founded, and

Whereas it is particularly appropiate that the proposed observance should be held in February, during which Americans observe the birthdays of Abraham Lincoln and George Washington, who had so much to do with the establishment and advancement of our country,

Now, therefore, I, Bernard Samuel, Mayor of the City of Philadelphia, call upon as many of our people as possible to give encouragement to the Association which was founded for a laudable purpose and which, in Philadelphia, has the support of leaders in various walks of municipal life.

Given under my hand and Seal of the City of Philadelphia this seventh day of February one thousand nine hundred forty-seven.

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CENTENARIAN *Mrs. Martha H. Shepherd (left), blind and living with her daughter, Mrs. Rebecca Blackman, New York City, celebrated her 101st birthday on December 31 at a party in her home. Her birthday cake had one large candle for the 100 years and one small candle for the one year.*

TENNESSEE: The JOHNSON CITY branch observed its third anniversary with a mass meeting on February 16 at the Thankful Baptist church, with attorney Maurice C. Weaver of Chattanooga, Tenn., as the principal speaker.

Negro history week was celebrated by the LONG BRANCH *NAACP* with services in the Trinity AME church. The program was sponsored jointly by the branch and the United Citizens Committee Against Discrimination. Principal speaker was Miss Ella Baker, former director of branches of the NAACP, who spoke from the subject

"Negro Progress and the National Crisis."

TEXAS: Thomas Bledsoe, New York City, and C. W. Williams, of the local school, were recent ABILENE branch speakers. New branch project is the accumulation of books by and about Negroes. Mrs. Nora Everton, of Hardin-Simmons, made a generous money contribution toward this end.

Book Reviews

SLAVE PATTERNS

***Slave and Citizen:* The Negro in the Americas. By Frank Tannenbaum. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947. XI+128+XI pp. $2.00.**

This little book is a provocative, well-documented analysis of the four hundred years of Negro chattel slavery in the Americas. Mr. Tannenbaum admits that his little book "raises more questions than it answers. And the questions it raises are those that trouble our own day. They are questions of freedom, liberty, justice, law, and morality."

Our author points out that the settlement of America was not just a European enterprise but the joint work of European and African peoples. "For the slave trade is better viewed as a migratory movement—forced migration, if you will, but still one of the greatest population movements of all time." As a result Negroes now people the Americas from Point Barrow to the Strait of Magellan. Of the 274 million people in all the Americas about 42 million, or 15 percent, are Negroes. The figure, however, is an estimate since there is no generally acceptable definition of "Negro." Descendants of the former slaves are, however, by no means uniformly distributed in the Americas and what might be called the zone of Negro influence extends from the southern littoral of North America, through the Antilles, and down the littoral of South America as far south as Rio de Janeiro.

Negroes make up 60 percent of the population of the Antilles; 34 percent in Brazil; 56 percent in Panama; 28 percent in Colombia; 9 percent in Nicaragua; 4 percent in Costa Rica; 12 percent in the United States; 2 percent in Mexico. In Alaska they are 0.21 percent; in Argentina, 0.114 percent. Argentina at one time had a considerable Negro population but it has now been absorbed.

There were Negro slaves in the Iberian Peninsula at the time of the discovery of America, and they were being imported into Portugal as early as 1433 to labor on the latifundia of the military and religious orders. They made up a large part of the population of the province of Algarve and from the 15th century onward they were said to outnumber the white population even in Lisbon. They were also a considerable element in the Spanish population. Nothing then was more natural than the early Spanish-Portuguese importation of Negroes into their colonies in the New World. Legalization of the trade in the Antilles is supposed to have begun with the Spanish royal edict of September 16, 1501. When Nicolas de Ovando arrived in Espanola as governor in 1502 he had Negroes among his settlers.

Begun by the Portuguese, the trade was at various times in the hands of the Spaniards, the Dutch, the Swedes, the Danes, and the English. British monopoly of the trade stems from the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. In Liverpool "one half the shipping in that port was engaged in African trade in 1774." Slavers bartered iron bars, beads, sheets, and other goods manufactured in Europe for Negroes from Africa, who were in turn sold in the Americas at enormous profit.

Just how many Negroes were torn from Africa will never be known, but the number has been put conservatively at 20 million. The trade was "exceedingly cruel" and "developed a kind of opaqueness to human suffering" which lingers on into the present century.

"Despite the cost in life, sorrow, and broken bodies, the Negro became the effective means for the colonization of vast American regions. Cotton and tobacco in the United States, sugar in the West Indies, cocoa in Venezuela, sugar, mining, and coffee in Brazil, and a thousand other kinds of enterprise everywhere else were dependent upon the Negro. . . Without the Negro the texture of American life would have been different."

Mr. Tannenbaum's chief concern in his little book is with the contrast between the British and the Spanish-Portuguese ways of handling the Negro. The Spanish-Portuguese slave pattern had "a different moral and legal setting" from that of the English. They "were not strangers to slavery" and they had an effective slave law and a religious institution which proclaimed the "identity of human nature." "That is, in their brotherhood as children of one God, the bondsman and the master are equal in his sight. This does not involve a repudiation of slavery, but rather an assertion that spiritually they are equal."

The English, on the other hand, strangers to slavery and Negroes, had no effective slave codes, no deeply felt belief in human equality, and few escalators to manumission. In other words, the Spanish-Portuguese slave pattern facilitated manumission and then tended to accept the freedman as an equal in the community; the English pattern erected barriers to freedom and then hounded the freedman, when he achieved it, as a pariah. Under the Iberian system the slaves were encouraged to seek freedom, and they had rights which were respected. But under the English system the slave had slight hope of freedom, and little protection from the law.

This gap between the Spanish-Portuguese and the English patterns explains the present difference between Latin-American and American practices and attitudes toward the Negro. In Latin America the Negro is being absorbed; in the United States he is an encysted body.

The uninformed reader coming for the first time upon this book might get the impression that the Spanish-Portuguese system was much more lenient than it actually was. It must be remembered that Spanish-Portuguese laws on slavery were not always enforced, and that though emancipation was not infrequent the total number of freedmen at the end of the colonial period probably did not exceed 15 percent of the Negro population. Very often the manumitted slave found that he had merely jumped from the frying-pan of chattel-slavery into the fire of debt-slavery and semi-serfdom, which had appeared before 1800.

Though emphasis in the book is on the juridical difference between the Spanish-Portuguese and the English systems, the real difference goes much deeper. Racially, the Iberians were much closer to the Negroes than the English. Public sentiment in Spain and Portugal was much more favorable toward Negroes and Negroids because the Spanish-Portuguese were themselves a mixed people with a large dosage of Negro blood. The Moors conquered the Peninsula in 711 A.D. under command of the Negro Tarik, and stayed on for centuries; in 1086 another wave of Negroes and Negroids came in with the invasion from Upper Senegal; and much later there were the Almoravides, another Negroid people. This is a very stimulating book.

J. W. Ivy

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THEOLOGICAL APPROACH

***Color and Conscience: The Irrepressible Conflict.* By Buell G. Gallagher. New York: Harper & Bros, 1946. IX+244pp. $2.50.**

A Negro made his way, along with several relatives, to a pew of a stately church. It was a giant edifice he was visiting, the glory of the community. Light, diffused by the stained glass windows, streamed down on the con-

gregation from above. The chant of the choir in that expensive interior seemed to come not from human voices, but from mysterious, heavenly sources behind him. Between the selections of the choir, the man felt, amidst such solemnity, that he was in the very presence of God. He forgot his earthly problems, raised his eyes in devout contrition, and prayed. After a few minutes, he lowered them and, as he told me later, he noticed a small sign just a few seats ahead of him: "For Colored Worshippers Only." Of course, he left the church at once.

Buell G. Gallagher's *Color and Conscience* settles conclusively the question that there can be absolutely no compromise between color prejudice and Christiantiy. The author states that "there is not one island of theological thought or ecclesiastical practice in Christendom which can legitimately claim the ethical right to draw the lines of Christian fellowship in accordance with variations in skin color." Christianity and color caste are irreconcilable.

It is this forthright attitude that gives so much value to this book. It seems unfortunate, however, that Dr. Gallagher should confine his attention almost exclusively to the theological aspects of race prejudice. But he wisely avoids dogmatism and does not maintain, as many often do, that there is one sole cause for racial prejudice.

One objection to the book is that it makes hard reading for the average layman, being confined as it is very largely to the theological approach. It seems designed for theologians and for those Christians who take their religion with large doses of logic.

An awakened Christian conscience could at least eliminate some of the rawer aspects of discrimination in white churches and religious organizations. Dr. Gallagher makes it clear that there can be no true Christiantiy and no real democracy with color caste.

—MARILYN KAEMMERLE

STOREHOUSES OF INFORMATION

The Negro Handbook, 1946-1947. **Edited by Florence Murray. New York: Current Books, Inc., A. A. Wyn, Publisher, 1947. VIII+ 392pp. $5.00.**

Encyclopedia of the Negro: **Preparatory Volume with Reference Lists and Reports. By W. E. B. Du Bois and Guy B. Johnson. New York: The H. W. Wilson Co., 1946. Revised and Enlarged Edition. 215pp. $3.25.**

Here are two useful handbooks for the desks of editors and teachers and the reference shelves of libraries. This is the third issue of Miss Murray's *Negro Handbook*, the first two having

FLORENCE MURRAY
Editor of The Negro Handbook.

been published in 1942 and 1944; and the second enlarged edition of the *Encyclopedia of the Negro*, the first having been published in 1945.

There are eighteen chapters in *The Negro Handbook* covering all the major fields of Negro activity in this country: population, civil rights, health and vital statistics, crime, sports, housing, books, newspapers and periodicals, stage, screen, and radio, business, and other topics. I have found the book extremely interesting and a consultation of its pages turns up some significant but often little known information.

The state of Georgia, for instance, contains more Negroes than any other state in the union, though Mississippi has a higher percentage of Negroes in its total population. Georgia also carries away the palm in the number of "black-belt counties." Whereas Mississippi has only thirty-four counties in which Negroes constitute fifty percent or more of the population, Georgia has forty-six such counties. Mississippi, however, has more Negroes as full owners of their farms than any other state in the South; and Virginia, not Georgia, ranks second in Negro farm ownership.

Though there are more Negroes resident in New York City than in any other American urban center, they constitute, however, only 6.1 percent of the total population. And among cities of ten to twenty-five thousand Atlantic City, N. J., leads with Negroes making up 24.4 percent of its total population. Another interesting fact is that 16.2 percent of the American Negro population is now urban. Negro females also outnumber Negro males in the ratio of 100.0 females for every 95.0 males.

What is a Negro? According to the definition of the United States Census, says the *Handbook*, "A person of mixed white and Negro blood should be returned as a Negro, no matter how small the percentage of Negro blood." Legally, however, the definition varies from state to state and they are often mutually contradictory.

I have learned that more than 750,000 Negroes are members of unions, and I have also learned, much to my surprise, that the United Automobile, Aircraft, and Agricultural Implement Workers Union (CIO) has more Negroes enrolled than any other single union—100,000. There are, of course, many other pertinent as well as interesting facts to be gleaned from this book. You can find out about suffrage cases, restrictive covenant cases, teachers' salary fights, plays with racially mixed casts, books by and about Negroes, Negro schools and colleges, and a thousand other things.

This second and enlarged edition of the *Encyclopedia of the Negro* has been pruned of the many errors which marred the first, and with additional entries gives the book eight pages more than those carried by the first edition. I should like to make it clear here that this is the preparatory volume to a projected Negro encyclopedia, not the encyclopedia itself. The book has three chapters divided into an alphabetical list, notes on major subjects, and bibliographical suggestions; a discussion of library sources for Negro studies in the United States *and abroad;* and a bibliography of bibliographies dealing directly or indirectly with the Negro.

The special value of this volume is that it furnishes a comprehensive guide to the reference material on the Negro available in most large libraries. Though the body of accumulated knowledge on the Negro and his past is vast, there have heretofore been few reliable guides to this storehouse. This book to a large extent remedies this defect. No serious student of the Negro can afford to be without this volume.

—J. W. IVY

Thomas Jefferson

(Continued from page 112)

not always be silent and that the friends to the rights of human nature will in the end prevail." Thus Jefferson, writing to James Madison on April 25, 1784. The Ordinance of 1784, had the slavery clause passed, would have excluded slavery from all new states formed out of western territory. But the date of such exclusion, 1800, would in the opinion of most historians, have given time for the establishment of slavery in the states formed by that date to an extent which would have made it extremely difficult to dislodge. Jefferson was in France when the Ordinance of 1787 was passed, of which a clause prohibited slavery, from the date of the adoption of the measure, in all of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River.

At the period of his residence in France he was convinced that the United States ought to remain predominantly agricultural. He wished never to see in the northern states the development of a proletariat such as the machine age had brought to England. And an industrialized South could only mean slaves become assets rather than increasing liability and slavery entrenched and fortified. He gradually changed his views, to the point of believing the country should become self-sustaining industrially but not more. Industrialization of the South was soon on the way willy-nilly, with the patenting of Eli Whitney's cotton gin in 1794, and the moral and humane aspects of the slavery question were rapidly obscured by its politico-economic color.

The Ohio Constitution

There is evidence that Jefferson was behind a proposed — and defeated — clause for the new Consitution for the State of Ohio in 1802, which read "No person shall be held in slavery, if a male, after he is thirty-five years of age; or a female, after twenty-five years of age. Ohio rejected slavery entirely. Jefferson's advocacy of such a measure is in line with his increasing fear lest the slavery question result in a line of political demarcation between slave states and free which would destroy the existence of the Union. Spreading the Negro population over a wider area would, so his theory ran, be better for the Negroes themselves and would really hasten the day of their emancipation state by state and peacefully.

In 1808, as president, he signed the Act of Congress forbidding future importation of slaves, the earliest opportunity for such an act under the Constitution. In 1819 the question of the admission of Missouri as a slave state or free broke upon the none too secure peace of the Sage of Monticello. "This momentous question, like a fire-bell in the night," he wrote to John Holmes in 1820, "awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed indeed for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographic line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper. I can say, with conscious truth, that there is not a man on earth who would sacrifice more than I would to relieve us from this heavy reproach, in any practicable way. The cession of that kind of property, for so it is misnamed, is a bagatelle which would not cost me a second thought, if, in that way, a general emancipation and expatriation could be effected; and gradually, with due sacrifices, I think it might be. But as it is, we have the wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go. Justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other."

The subject so disturbed him that he refused to discuss it on the occasion of the Marquis de Lafayette's last visit to Monticello in 1825. A few months later, Thomas Jefferson passed beyond reach of the coming conflict which his prophetic soul all to clearly envisioned.

French Terror

(Continued from page 110)

down on the part of "Vichy" for a functionary who had been suspected of "De Guallisme." [*That is, of being an adherent to the political ideas of General de Gaulle, Tr.*] The man, however, was quickly exonerated. We must remember that the administrative guards assume full responsibility for their acts, and even for those committed by their bosses. I am a witness to the fact that they always act on orders, although they may claim to have acted on their own responsibility. They know their discretion is relied upon and that if they talk their families become hostages.

The political bureau of the colonial ministry is allowed a free hand in handling the natives, which means turning them over completely to the whites, their interests, their caprices, their vices, and even their sadism. The natives are really serfs who do not even have the right to leave their own villages, except with official permission. However, a little travel is sometimes allowed, and in this way the natives get the illusion that they have freedom of movement. But let a native's presence outside his village, regardless of the reason, become offensive to some white man and he is immediately arrested, convicted of vagrancy, and forced to return to his village, from which it will be impossible for him ever to leave again.

Treatment of prisoners varies from locale to locale. All convicts are forced to work; that is, they must submit to a regime of forced labor even if they have received only a jail sentence. They are allowed the low wage of 40 cents a day, paid upon their release. But very often even after a long imprisonment they get absolutely nothing. To whom should they complain, But who in all Africa would listen to the complaints of a miserable wretch of an African prisoner, coming out as he does maimed and sick from a prison where he has been mercilessly robbed of his pittance earned during the course of this hellish life? Once freed the prisoner is abandoned at the very prison gates, hundreds, nay thousands of miles, from his home; sometimes in the open desert without food or money. He must count upon the tireless soldarity of his fellow natives for subsistence until he reaches his village.

At Grand Bassam on the Ivory Coast the treatment of prisoners is said to be more humane, probably because of the prison warden and the commissioner of police, and probably because their duties have forced them to leave all real power in the hands of the *gardien-chef*, a Negro, who is virtually worshipped by his prisoners. At Bamako, capital of the French Sudan, though the work imposed upon prisoners is analogous to that imposed on other workers, the food is filthy, unpalatable, and so disgusting that it makes even the most hard-boiled recoil in disgust. As a result they get scurvy and it is pitiful to see these unfortunate fellows crawling along the ground, no longer able to stand on their rickety legs. Upon my arrival at the Bamako prison I found, because of the indifference of the warden and the doctor, that deaths from this disease averaged one a day.

I had come from the Ivory Coast with a Swiss, a so-called spy, who was eager to have himself admitted as a hospital-attendant. As a doctor he had asked that the sick be given broomweed for vitamins, and he was for a more intelligent and humane policy since the sick were workers whose labor was now being wasted. The authorities then decided to give the prisoners rice twice a week, which they served up boiled, without salt or other seasoning, at the midday meal along with a bowl of grease or a bone in place of meat. Many of the prisoners made themselves satisfied with this meal, making it last for two days, and eating nothing else during the rest of the time. I had made it my task to transform the little court set aside for European prisoners into a vegetable garden in which I raised a considerable quantity of pimentos, part of which went to the infirmary and the rest to help the natives swallow their tasteless food.

How about the prisoners from the bush? To find a fitting parallel for their treatment, we would have to go back to the hulks of the middle ages and antiquity. These unfortunate fellows are levied in the principal prisons not because of their bad conduct, but because of their robust constitutions.

Those who go out under these conditions know that they will never return —for in six months they will be corpses. They are driven to work at the bayonet point or bludgeoned into doing their jobs. I ought to mention here that prisoners are whipped with oxthongs, manatee-hides or the ends of electric cables. The white wardens are virtuosi at this sort of thing and set the example for the guards.

I myself spent seven months in solitary without either air or light in a cell much smaller than the one I had occupied at Bamako. I lost all energy and appetite and lived, so to speak, by devouring myself. I lost all my teeth, became nearly blind, and had continual headaches and hallucinations. I finally reached a point where I could neither read nor write.

Native Guards

Such inhuman treatment as this exacted by the authorities would be beyond human endurance if the guards did not secretly help the Negroes by softening it. The prisoners should be thankful that they have guards of their own race, for it is thanks to them that they get food and money from the outside, and even cigarettes. Despite their debasing duties and the brutalities they must carry out, or at least appear to, the prison guards do what they can to help their imprisoned brothers, and as a result they are often themselves objects of brutal punishment.

I can state categorically that the white man is the only fellow who was capable of a well-night perfect and pitiless insensibility to the treatment and sufferings of the Negro, even where such brutality involved death. They never tired of repeating that the Negro is only a bush-ape, and they treated him as they were accustomed to treating their animals.

This peculiarly French system of slavery in West Africa has been officially denounced in the Chamber by investigators of the French Commission for the Colonies reporting to the First Constituent Assembly. Though the tone of the report is somewhat restrained, the language is unequivocal and leaves no doubt as to the shocking realities. As for French Equatorial Africa, no one dares mention it, for the truth surpasses imagination and belief. Forced labor assumes many forms in Negro Africa, but the principal ones are given below.

Plantations and Docks

In French West Africa it works as follows: No one, of course, is forced to take a job; but if he refuses, the authorities will arrest the village chief, beat him and throw him into jail; naturally such warnings are not lost on the natives. This form of pressure on the chiefs has been suppressed for some time now, the plantations abandoned and the workshops closed, all because of the lack of help; but this is a mere feint designed to apply pressure on French legislators who are soon going to have to draw up new statutes governing the natives. This is going to be done in order to prevent the natives from making attempts at self-emancipation. But the administration still has other means at its disposal for securing Negroes for the colonialists, as we shall see later. In French Equatorial Africa the methods are more radical. Here the administration corrals the healthy men and then sells them to the exploiters for a two-year period. During this two-year period the exploiter is the master of the Negro, his wife and his children. Should the master covet his servant's wife, the husband can do nothing about it except to take her to him at nightfall, and it is the custom on such occasions for the white master to donate the poor husband a bottle of wine.

I do not know whether this is to be regarded as clever mockery or whether it is a means of convincing the unfortunate husband that it was profit and not fear that made him give up his wife. This, however, is much more than the administrators in French West and Equatorial Africa are accustomed to doing, for when they make one of their accustomed rounds they will seize any woman who catches their fancy—and they don't give gifts.

In French Equatorial Africa the colonialists may even kill their workers. His loss would be slight, only 500 or a 1,000 francs, according to the region, which is the amount of his deposit with the administration to cover every worker he fails to report at the end of the two-year period. No attention whatever is paid to the physical health of these workers: the colonialist is perfectly satisfied as long as they are alive.

It should be remarked here that the authorities in Negro Africa exhibit a curious pruriency on all matters touching upon the marital honor of the natives. Let a native husband file a complaint against his wife and she goes to jail. But a white woman may do as she pleases, and in Africa white women have been involved in some pretty scandalous conduct. [*Consult Louis-Charles Royer's novel La maitresse noire for a report on white women in Africa, TR.*] But why the difference in treatment? Because this is the colonialist's way of re-enforcing and perpetuating all the offensive stereotypes about the natives.

In the second military contingent French colonialism has a godsend. Though all natives are subject to military conscription, only a few of them are actually inducted into the army. The rest, though subject to army jurisdiction, are frankly used for forced labor pure and simple. They make up a large part of the closely brigaded labor force at the disposal of the administration. The prestation tax is another device used by the administration for the purpose of securing compulsory labor without paying for it in either food or wages. The tax is not, as it is in France, an insignificant contribution for community work in which the taxpayer has an interest. In Africa it means, on the contrary, endless months of labor hundreds of miles from one's village in workshops where the work has nothing in common with communal work.

Every time an administrator decides to have some work done within his jurisdiction, he demands it of his subjects at any time, even though the harvest may suffer. Thus the highways, which are generally made of packed earth and are being continually plowed up by overloaded trucks, must be kept in repair by the neighboring villages.

The French colonialists count upon such excesses to create doubts in the minds of their metropolitan critics and foreigners. They feel that people will refuse to believe that such outrages can be perpetrated by a nation which constantly prattles about its beautiful principles and noble intentions in regard to its subject peoples. The abuses are forgotten, but the fine principles, endlessly repeated, remain. The forgetful, lazy human mind ends up as usual by judging individuals by their words instead of their deeds.

French racism is neither an instinct nor an ideology; it is a product of French interest. In France where people have no desire to exploit the handful of resident Negroes racism is nonexistent. The colored man appreciates this treatment in France. If one day in Africa the white man should lose his privileges, his racism would disappear. The African native knows this very well. It is not the Frenchman's racism that he deplores so much as the abuses which issue from his privileges. The native's cup of bitterness is running over, race consciousness is on the increase from one end of the continent to the other, and the Negroes everywhere are organizing themselves.

(Translated from the French by James IV. Ivy.)

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. THE CRISIS maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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